



The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms

Collective Research

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Following in the footsteps of the two conferences of Poitiers (*Heresy and Bible translation in the Middle Ages and at the dawn of the Renaissance*, October 27, 2017, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale) and Alba Iulia (*Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities*, June 27-28, 2018, Museikon), the nucleus of researchers already collaborating in a previous Museikon publication (*Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities: The Romanian Case*, Bucharest, DARK Publishing / Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia, 'Museikon Studies', 1, 2019) decided to expand the scope of their common effort and see how a comparative philological approach would work on a practical level. The idea of this collective research and paper came naturally in the early stages of the preparation of a future project dealing with a comparative approach of vernacular Psalters and Gospels both in relation to their high-prestige Greek, Latin, or Church Slavonic sources, and at an intravernacular level, where some of them could have influenced the others. The comparisons between vernacular translations are useful for the identification of translation clusters active in several languages and for the reconstruction of a pan-European *forma mentis* which shaped the early vernacular renderings of the Bible.

The present paper is also an editorial test. While experimenting with format, the contributors equally tested how common publications such as this may be replicated in the near future, in a journal dedicated only to a comparative philological study of early Bible translations. The current subject (musical instruments terminology) was chosen in order to provide a representative prospective section of

the entire corpus. New collaborators were invited to join in and contribute to the exploration of the more difficult aspects of the study, thus anticipating the opening of philology to a wider array of disciplines, according to the needs of the explored realia. Since the topic is far from being exhausted and since many European languages are not yet dealt with, the study will be continued in the next issue of *Museikon*.

Glossary

The *BINÔME SYNONYMIQUE* (French philology) refers to a sequence of two synonyms belonging to the same grammatical category and placed on the same level of syntactic hierarchy, often used to introduce or gloss neologisms (cf. Buridant 1980, p. 5)

ETYMOLOGICAL ATTRACTION (used in Romanian philology) defines the selection of an inherited word when recognizing its etymology in the source language. Primarily used to explain lexical coincidences between the Romanian *Scheian Psalter* and the Latin psalters (cf. Munteanu 2008, p. 83).

TRANSLATION CLUSTERS refer to words or groups of words translated in the same way in independent versions, because of basic equivalents and automatisms in the target language.

◀ Fig. 1. St. Peter abbey church, Moissac (France), first half of the 12th century. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Amelot.

The Old Greek text (EC)

Musical instruments are well represented not only in the Psalms, but also in 1-2 Chronicles, which are the second most “musical” section of the Hebrew Bible. Stringed instruments such as *kinnôr* (“lyre”) and *nēbel* (“harp”) are by far the most prominent, seconded by the *šōpār* (“ram’s horn”), all of which had a wide range of uses, both in cultic and secular contexts. Less prominent instruments were the *tōp* (“tambourine”) and the *šēselim* (“cymbals”). The shape and size of these, as well as other less noteworthy instruments evolved over time, so the descriptions offered by Josephus or the Babylonian Talmud must be taken with due caution.

Before analyzing each term in more detail, a caveat is in order. The Old Greek version of the Bible is not consistent in translating the Hebrew terms. To take only one example, *kinnôr* is rendered both as *κινθάρα* and *ψαλτήριον*, the latter being, in turn, used to equate both *nēbel* and *kinnôr*. Although the following section focuses on the musical instruments mentioned in the Psalms, the scholar approaching this topic must be aware that a full discussion would have to include the full array of Greek terms corresponding to the Hebrew terms.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *kinnôr* (14 occurrences in the MT of the Psalms) is rendered by three words in the Greek version of the Psalms: 10 x *κινθάρα* (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5 x; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3); 3 x *ψαλτήριον* (Ps 48:5; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3); 1 x *ὄργανον* (Ps 136:2).

Its use is governed by preposition *bē* (*bēkinnôr* = *ἐν κινθάρᾳ* LXX). The noun is used almost exclusively in the singular (for the plural *kinnôrôt* see Ps 137:2 MT = Ps 136:2). It is qualified by an adjective only once, in Ps 81:3 MT (*kinnôr na'im* ‘pleasant lyre’) = Ps 80:3 LXX (*ψαλτήριον τερπνόν*).

Most of its occurrences are used in parallel structures alongside *nēbel* (‘harp’) or *tōp* (‘timbrel’, ‘tambourine’). Judging from the number of occurrences of *kinnôr* in the Hebrew Bible, this instrument seems to have been more popular than the *nēbel*. It featured in processions to the Temple and was small enough to be carried around.

Another term used to translate *kinnôr* in the Septuagint is *κινύρα*, which occurs solely in the historical books (1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Chronicles etc.). Flavius Josephus, who uses the term *κινύρα* (rather than *κινθάρα*) ascribes its invention to King David and gives the following description: *ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημίμην τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ* “the *kinyra* had ten strings stretched on it, which were struck with a plectrum” (Ant. 7:306 Loeb 281). According to a Rabbinic tradition (T.b. LCL. 13b), the *kinnôr* of the Temple had seven strings. The information is probably spurious; R. Judah simply quotes from Ps 16:11 and reads “seven” instead of “fullness” (i.e. “In your presence there is fullness of joy”).

Heb. *nēbel* (cf. Syr. *nablā*, Lat. *nablium*), with eight occurrences in the MT of the Psalms, denotes a stringed musical instrument, i.e. harp. It is rendered by three words in the Greek version of the Psalms: 6 x *ψαλτήριον* (Ps 32:2; Ps 56:9; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 150:3); 1 x *κινθάρα* (Ps 80:3); the occurrence *kelī-nēbel* (Ps 71:22 MT, lit. “instrument consisting of a harp”), similar to the expression in 1 Ch 16:5, is translated incorrectly as *σκεῦος ψαλμοῦ*, “instrument of psalm”. In the historical books, *nēbel* is adapted into Greek as *νάβλα*. According to Josephus (Ant. 7:306, LCL 281), the *nēbel* = *νάβλα* had twelve notes and was plucked with the fingers (*ἡ δὲνάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται*). In the Hebrew text, *nēbel* *āsōr* (Ps. 33:2; Ps 144:9) refers to the harp with ten strings. In Ps 92:4 only *āsōr* is

used, but the same musical instrument is meant. It is assumed that the *nēbel* is mentioned less frequently in the Hebrew Bible because, unlike the *kinnôr*, it required great skill on the part of the player.

In connection with Gr. *ψαλτήριον* (10 x in the Old Greek) it must be noted that it translates not only *nēbel* (6 x), but also *kinnôr* (Ps 49:5 MT = Ps 48:5 LXX; Ps 81:3 MT = Ps 80:3 LXX; Ps 149:3). Based on 11 QPsalms^a, we can assume that *kinnôr* is the underlying Hebrew term for *ψαλτήριον* in Ps. 151:2. In three cases, the instrument is described as having ten strings (*δεκάχορδον*). In the biblical text it is often used in combination with the verb *ψάλλω* (to pluck the string with the finger, as opposed to using the plectrum, *κρούειν τῷ πλήκτρῳ*). Only in the works of the Patristic writers and in superscripts appended to Alexandrian copies of the Psalms was *ψαλτήριον* used to denote the ‘Psalter’.

Heb. *minnîm* (pl.) occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, in Ps 150:4, where it is used probably as a synecdoche for the whole instrument. It also occurs in the extant Hebrew text of Sirach (39:15), in the expression *kelē minnîm* “instruments of strings”. Given the generic use, no specific instrument can be associated with it. In the Old Greek version, *minnîm* is rendered by *χορδαί* “strings”. In classical Gr. *χορδή* “intestine”, “gut”, was also used, by semantic development, to refer to a musical string or a musical sound (*χορδὴν ποιεῖν* ‘to make a sound’).

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *šōpār* (cf. Akkad. *šappāru*, Syr. *šipūrā*), 4 x in the

	Masoretic Text (transliterated)
Ps 32:2	[33:2] hōdū laYHWH bēkinnôr bēnēbel ‘āsōr zammērū-lō
Ps 42:4	[43:4] wē’ābō’āh ‘el-mizbah ‘ēlōhīm ‘el-’ēl šimḥat gīlī wē’ōdēkā bēkinnôr ‘ēlōhīm ‘ēlōhāy
Ps 46:6	[47:6] ‘ālāh ‘ēlōhīm bītrū’āh YHWH bēqōl šōpār
Ps 48:5	[49:5] ‘atṭe’ lēmāšāl ‘oznī ‘ēptaḥ bēkinnôr ḥīdāṭī
Ps 56:9	[57:9] ‘ūrāh kēbōdī ‘ūrāh hannēbel wēkinnôr ‘ā’irāh ššāḥar
Ps 67:26	[68:26] qiddēmū šārīm ‘aḥar nōgēnim bētōk ‘ālāmōt tōpēpōt
Ps 70:22	[71:22] gam-’ānī ‘ōdēkā bīklī-nēbel ‘āmīttēkā ‘ēlōhāy ‘āzammērāh lēkā bēkinnôr qēdōš yīsra’ēl
Ps 80:3	[81:3] šē’ū-zimrāh ūtēnū-tōp kinnôr nā’im ‘im-nābel
Ps 80:4	[81:4] tiq’ū baḥōdeš šōpār bakkēse’ lēyōm haggēnū
Ps 91:4	[92:4] ‘ālē-’āsōr wa’ālē-nābel ‘ālē higgāyōn bēkinnôr
Ps 97:5	[98:5] zammerū laYHWH bēkinnôr bēkinnôr wēqōl zimrāh
Ps 97:6	[98:6] baḥšōšrōt wēqōl šōpār hārī’ū lipnē hammelek YHWH
Ps 107:3	[108:3] ‘ūrāh hannēbel wēkinnôr ‘ā’irāh ššāḥar
Ps 136:2	[137:2] ‘al-’ārāḥīm bētōkāh tālīnū kinnôrōtēnū
Ps 143:9	[144:9] ‘ēlōhīm šīr ḥadāš ‘āsīrāh llāk bēnēbel ‘āsōr ‘āzammērāh-llāk
Ps 146:7	[147:7] ‘ēnū laYHWH bētōdāh zammērū lē’lōhēnū bēkinnôr
Ps 149:3	yēhalēlū šēmō bēmāḥōl bētōp wēkinnôr yēzammērū-lō
Ps 150:3	halēlūhū bētēqa’ šōpār halēlūhū bēnēbel wēkinnôr
Ps 150:4	halēlūhū bētōp ūmāḥōl halēlūhū bēminnîm wē’ūgāb
Ps 150:5	halēlūhū bēsilšēlē-šāma’ halēlūhū bēsilšēlē tērū’āh

Psalms (Ps 47:6 MT = Ps 46:6 LXX; Ps 81:4 MT = Ps 80:4 LXX; Ps 98:6 MT = Ps 97:6 LXX; Ps 150:3), refers to a ram's horn used to give audible signals on a wide range of occasions. In wartime it announced either the beginning or the end of a battle. In peacetime it signaled the enthronement of a new king (1 Kg 1:34) or heralded one of the main religious ceremonies: the day of atonement (Lev 25:9). The arrival of a new moon festival (*hodeš*) was marked by *šofar* blasts (Ps. 81:4 MT = Ps 80:4 LXX). It featured, alongside *nēbel* ('harp') and *kinnōr* ('lyre'), among the instruments deemed appropriate in communal worship of ancient Israel (Ps. 150:3).

In the Old Greek version of the Psalms, it is consistently rendered by *σάλπιγξ* (4 x). In one instance, the translator seems to have been aware that a typical Greek *σάλπιγξ* was made of bronze and therefore translated *šofar* by *σάλπιγξ*

κερατίνη 'trumpet of horn' (Ps 98:6 MT = Ps 97:6 LXX). In the same verse, Heb. *ḥšššerāḥ* 'trumpet' was translated as *σάλπιγξ ἐλατή* 'trumpet of hammered (metal)', in order to distinguish it from the one made of horn.

Heb. *ʾūḡāb* 'pipe' or 'flute' is only used once in the Psalms (Ps 150:4). In the Old Greek version, it is rendered by *ὄργανον*. Note the same equivalence between *ʾūḡāb* in 11QPsalms^a and *ὄργανον* in Ps. 151:2. Although *ὄργανον* is the generic term for 'instrument', in Ps. 136:2 it is also used for the Heb. *kinnōr* 'lyre' (Ps. 137:2 MT).

PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *tōp* (cf. Sam. *taf*, Jewish Aram. *tuppā*, Arabic *duff*), 3 x in the Psalms (Ps 81:3 MT = Ps 80:3 LXX; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4), 'timbrel', 'tambourine', refers to a small hand-held wooden circle covered with a leather membrane (and sometimes furnished with bells). It was typically used by women who danced in celebratory processions, both secular and cultic (*ʾālāmōt tōpēfot* 'girls playing tambourines' Ps 68:26 MT = *νεανίδων τυμπανιστριών* Ps 67:26 LXX). In the Psalms, the verbal forms used in connection with *tōp* indicate that the players were also male. In the later biblical texts, *tōp* is omitted from the list of instruments accepted for the temple worship (1Chr. 15:16-24; 16:4-6, 42; 25:1-6).

In the Old Greek version of the Psalms, it is consistently rendered by *τύμπανον*. The unidiomatic sequence *δοτε τύμπανον* (Ps 80:3 LXX) is calqued on the Heb. *tēnū-tōp* (lit. 'give the timbrel' = 'sound the timbrel').

Heb. *šēšselim* (pl.) refers to a musical instrument of percussion, i.e. cymbals. Based on Ps. 150:5 scholars have traditionally claimed that two distinct types were in use in biblical times: *šēšselē-šāma* 'cymbals of sound' or *šēšselē-terūʾāḥ* 'cymbals of clang' i.e. resounding cymbals. However, the distinction is tenuous. Although no description is given, it can be inferred that the instrument consisted of two bronze discs, with handles, which were struck against each other.

In the Old Greek version *šēšselē-šāma* is rendered as *κύμβαλα εὐχηα*, 'euphonious cymbals'. The translator has equated *šāma* with a positively connotated adjective and thus has softened the force of the original. By contrast, in the same verse, for Heb. *bēšēšselē terūʾāḥ* the Old Greek has the Semitizing *κύμβαλα ἀλαλαγμοῦ* 'clashing cymbals'.

Flavius Josephus offers a brief description of this instrument: *κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα* 'kymbala were large, broad plates of brass' (*Ant.* 7:306, LCL, vol. 281).

Abbreviations:

Akkad.	Akkadian
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Jewish Aram.	Jewish Aramaic
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
Sam.	Samaritan
Syr.	Syriac

REFERENCES:

For the Hebrew text: Elliger, Rudolph (Schenker) 1997; Brown, Rolles Driver, Briggs 1977; Clines 1993-2011; Gesenius 2013; Koehler, Baumgartner 1994-2000; Botterweck, Ringgren, Fabry 1974-2006. For the Greek text: Montanari, Madeleine Goh, Chad Schroeder 2015; Liddell, Scott, Jones 1996; and LXX (Rahlfs 2006).

Septuagint (LXX)

- Ps 32:2 ἐξομολογείσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν **κιθάρα**, ἐν **ψαλτηρίῳ** δεκαχόρδῳ ψάλατε αὐτῷ
- Ps 42:4 καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν εὐφραίνοντα τὴν νεότητά μου· ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ ἐν **κιθάρα**, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου
- Ps 46:6 ἀνέβη ὁ Θεός ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, Κύριος ἐν φωνῇ **σάλπιγγος**
- Ps 48:5 κλινῶ εἰς παραβολὴν τὸ οὖς μου, ἀνοίξω ἐν **ψαλτηρίῳ** τὸ πρόβλημά μου
- Ps 56:9 ἐξεγέρθητι, ἡ δόξα μου· ἐξεγέρθητι, **ψαλτήριον** καὶ **κιθάρα**· ἐξεγερθήσομαι ὀρθροῦ
- Ps 67:26 προέφθασαν ἄρχοντες ἐχόμενοι ψαλλόντων ἐν μέσῳ νεανίδων **τυμπανιστριών**
- Ps 70:22 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ ἐν **σκεύει ψαλμοῦ** τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου, ὁ Θεός· ψαλῶ σοὶ ἐν **κιθάρα**, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
- Ps 80:3 λάβετε ψαλμὸν καὶ δότε **τύμπανον**, **ψαλτήριον** τερπνὸν μετὰ **κιθάρας**
- Ps 80:4 σαλπίζατε ἐν νεομηνίᾳ **σάλπιγγι**, ἐν εὐσήμεν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς ὑμῶν
- Ps 91:4 ἐν δεκαχόρδῳ **ψαλτηρίῳ** μετ' ὧδης ἐν **κιθάρα**
- Ps 97:5 ψάλατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν **κιθάρα**, ἐν **κιθάρα** καὶ φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ
- Ps 97:6 ἐν **σάλπιγγιν** ἐλαταῖς καὶ φωνῇ **σάλπιγγος** κερατίνης ἀλαλάξατε ἐνώπιον τοῦ Βασιλέως Κυρίου
- Ps 107:3 ἐξεγέρθητι, **ψαλτήριον** καὶ **κιθάρα**· ἐξεγερθήσομαι ὀρθροῦ
- Ps 136:2 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰτέαις ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσαμεν τὰ **ὄργανα** ἡμῶν
- Ps 143:9 ὁ Θεός, ὧδὴν καινὴν ἄσσομαι σοὶ, ἐν **ψαλτηρίῳ** δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλῶ σοὶ
- Ps 146:7 ἐξάρξατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει, ψάλατε τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν **κιθάρα**
- Ps 149:3 αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν χορῷ, ἐν **τυμπάνῳ** καὶ **ψαλτηρίῳ** ψαλάτωσαν αὐτῷ
- Ps 150:3 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἥχῳ **σάλπιγγος**, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν **ψαλτηρίῳ** καὶ **κιθάρα**
- Ps 150:4 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν **τυμπάνῳ** καὶ χορῷ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ **ὄργάνῳ**
- Ps 150:5 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν **κυμβάλοις** εὐήχοις, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν **κυμβάλοις** ἀλαλαγμοῦ
- Ps 151:2 αἱ χεῖρές μου ἐποίησαν **ὄργανον**, οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἤρμοσαν **ψαλτήριον**.



Church Slavonic versions (CMM)

1. In the earliest Church Slavonic translation of the Psalter, Redaction I, made in the late 9th–10th century but extant from the 11th century onward, there was a standard treatment of terms for musical instruments. It was followed in the four subsequent redactions known up to the 15th century among the Orthodox Slavs and in subsequent revisions of the 16th–18th centuries (see Thomson 1998, p. 797–825), also in the version of Redaction I with corrections from the Vulgate which was current in Catholic Croatia (Vajs 1916; Šimić 2014), and still prevails today (see Гильтебрандт 1993 (1898), *sub vocibus*). Some Greek terms are regularly translated, others are regularly adopted as loanwords:

a) translations

κῑθάρᾱ > гжсли (*gṣli*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3)

σάλπιγξ > трѣба (*trṣba*) (Ps 46:6; Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; Ps 150:3)

χορδῇ > струна (*struna*) (Ps 150:4)

b) loans

ψαλτηρίον > псалтырь (*psaltyri*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 48:5; Ps 56:9; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3; Ps 151:2)

τύμπανον > тѹмпанъ (*tumpanŭ*) (Ps 67:26; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4)

ὄργανον > органъ (*organŭ*) (Ps 136:2; Ps 150:5; Ps 151:2)

κὺμβάλον > кѹмбалъ (*kumbalŭ*) (Ps 150:5)

2. There is a small number of exceptions to this general practice in the form of minority variant readings found in South Slavonic manuscripts which otherwise follow Redactions I and II:

τύμπανον > кемпанъ (*kempanŭ*) in the *Psalterium Demetrii* (Redaction I) (Miklas et al. 2012), звоно (*zvono*) in the Belgrade and Pljevlja Psalters (Redaction II) (MacRobert 2010, p. 429) (Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4).

κὺμβάλον > кембанъ (*kembanŭ*) in the *Psalterium Demetrii*, кимбанъ (*kimbanŭ*) in the Pogodin and Dečani Psalters (Redaction I) (Jagić 1907; Митревски 2000), звоно (*zvono*) in the Belgrade, Pljevlja and Athens Psalters (Redaction II) (MacRobert 2010, p. 429) (Ps 150:5).

3. In Redaction IV, which is represented by a single manuscript, the *Norov Psalter* (Чешко 1989), there is occasional inconsistency in the translation of ψαλτηρίον, which is sometimes translated as пѣснѣвѣць (*pěsnivěci*) (Ps 107:3; Ps 151:2) but is more often borrowed as псалтырь (*psaltyri*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 48:5; Ps 56:9; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3).

4. The Church Slavonic version of the commentary on the psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, thought to have been made in 10th-century Bulgaria but extant only in East Slavonic manuscripts, tends to avoid loanwords and so normally translates terms for all musical instruments (Поропелов 1910, *sub vocibus*; Поропелов 1910b; Lépissier 1968, p. 303; Вершинин 2018); though its manuscript tradition exhibits some inconsistency in the treatment of ψαλτηρίον, either because this version was a revision based on Redaction I or because scribes were influenced by their familiarity with other redactions:

κῑθάρᾱ > гжсли (*gṣli*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3)

σάλπιγξ > трѣба (*trṣba*) (Ps 46:6; Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; Ps 150:3)

χορδῇ > струна (*struna*) (Ps 150:4)

ψαλτηρίον > пѣснѣница (*pěsnīnica*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 56:9; Ps 107:3; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3?); псалтырь (*psaltyri*) (Ps 48:5; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 143:9)

τύμπανον > бжбѣнь (*bḡbinŭ*) (Ps 67:26; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4 uncertain)

ὄργανον > съсждѣ (*sŭsḡdŭ*) (Ps 136:2); пищаль (*pištali*) (Ps 150:4)

κὺμβάλον > звоно (*zvono*) (Ps 150:5)

5. Some East Slavonic psalter manuscripts of the later 14th and 15th centuries also prefer such translations to loanwords for musical instruments. These manuscripts are clearly compilations, either of Redaction II or of Redaction V, with the Church Slavonic version associated with Theodoret's commentated psalter, and contain other characteristic readings from that version (see MacRobert 2010, p. 423–440). In this respect they differ from the South Slavonic manuscripts mentioned above (paragraphs 2 and 3), in which the translations of musical terms shared with the Church Slavonic version of Theodoret are isolated and may well be fortuitous.

Psalterium Bononiense (tr. IC)

Исповѣдайте сѧ господевѣ въ гжсѣлѣхъ, въ псалтыри десѧтъструннѣ пойте ему	Ps 32:2
вѣнидѧ къ ѡлтарю бжю, къ боу веселѧщемоу юность мож, исповѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ гжслехъ бже бе мои	Ps 42:4
Възыде бѣ въ вѣскликновении, гѣ въ гласѣ трѣбѣнѣ	Ps 46:6
Приклонѧ въ притѣчѧхъ оухо мое, Разѣгнѧ къ фальтири гѧнание мое	Ps 48:5
Вѣстани славо моя вѣстани фальтирю и гжсли, вѣстанѧ рано	Ps 56:9
Варишѧ кънази ѧдѣ пожшнихъ по срѣдѣ дѣвѣ тѹпаницѣ	Ps 67:26
И бо азѣ исповѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ людехъ ги въ съсждѣхъ фаломъсѣхъ, истинѧ твоѧ бже вѣспоѧ тебѣ въ гжслехъ стѣхъ излѣ	Ps 70:22
Прѣимѣте фаломъ и дадите тѹмбанъ, псалтырь красенъ съ гжслими	Ps 80:3
Вѣстрѣбите на новѣ мѣсѧцѣ трѣбож, въ нарочитѣ день праздника вашего	Ps 80:4
Въ десѧтоструннѣ фалтири съпѣснѣ въ гжслехъ	Ps 91:4
Пойте боу нашему въ гжслехъ, въ гжслехъ и въ гласѣ псаломстѣ	Ps 97:5
Въ трѣбахъ ѡкованахъ и гласомъ трѣбы рожаны, вѣскликнѣте прѣдѣ цремъ господемъ	Ps 97:6
Вѣстани славо моя, вѣстани фалтирю и гжсли, вѣстанѧ рано	Ps 107:3
На врѣби по срѣдѣ еж ѡбѣсихомъ ергѧны нашѧ	Ps 136:2
Бже пѣснѣ новѧ вѣспоѧ тебѣ, въ фалтири десѧто-струннѣ вѣспоѧ тебѣ	Ps 143:9
Начѣйте гви въ исповѣдани, пойте боу ншему въ гжслехъ	Ps 146:7
да вѣсхвалѧтѣ имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тимпанѣ и фалтири да пожѣ ему	Ps 149:3
хвалите и въ гласѣ трѣбѣнѣмъ, хвалите и въ фальтири и въ гжслехъ	Ps 150:3
Хвалите и въ тѹмпанѣ и лицѣ, хвалите и въ строунахъ и ерганѣ	Ps 150:4
Хвалите и въ кѹмбалѣхъ доброгласнѣхъ, хвалите и въ кѹмбалѣхъ вѣсклицѧнѣ	Ps 150:5
рѣцѣ мои створистѣ ергѧнѣ, прѣсти мои съставишѧ фалтир	Ps 151:2

◀ Fig. 2. Arbore church (Suceava county, Romania). Murals on the Western wall of the nave (soon after 1503). Musical instruments in the Derision of Christ. Credits: Radu Oltean.

Latin versions (VA)

A thorough analysis of the Latin versions is not necessary here, as they will be often discussed in the vernacular sections of the present study. Our interest being primarily in the translations from these sources, a simple presentation of the various Latin versions of the Book of Psalms will suffice for now.

The *Vetus Latina* had a *Psalterium Vetus*, but the replacement of this Latin text with other versions already available since late Antiquity led to its quick extinction. The discussions concerning the Cyprianic Psalter, the various quotations in the works of the early Church Fathers, or the 12th-century Latin bible from Monte Cassino bear little consequence to this study, as our medieval and early modern translators worked from other (complete) versions.

The Middle Ages regarded three of these versions as translations made by Saint Jerome: Gallicanum, Romanum and Hebraicum. Very often, the vernacular translations of the Psalter follow one of these texts (usually Gallicanum), but the manuscript tradition was never stable and there are many mixed or contaminated Latin psalters, offering readings from one or two other versions.

Romanum, as it was known in the Middle Ages, was not the Roman Psalter of Saint Jerome. Jerome produced a similar psalter indeed, he mentioned it in his preface to the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* and described it as a quick translation, but there seems to be no connection between this early Hieronymian psalter, lost today, and the Romanum in use in Rome during medieval times. Romanum was a version of the Psalter used in Rome alongside Gallicanum, in the British Isles (see its use in the Old English translations), and in other areas of the Catholic

	Gallicanum	Romanum	Hebraicum
Ps 32:2	Confitemini Domino in cithara ; in psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi.	confitemini domino in cithara in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei	Confitemini Domino in cithara : in psalterio decachordo cantate ei.
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum, qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cithara , Deus, Deus meus.	introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui letificat iuventutem meam confitebor tibi in cithara deus deus meus	Et introibo ad altare tuum, ad Deum laetitiae et exultationis meae, et confitebor tibi in cithara , Deus Deus meus.
Ps 46:6	Ascendit Deus in iubilo, et Dominus in uoce tubae .	ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in voce tube	Ascendit Deus in iubilo, Dominus in uoce bucinae .
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam.	inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam	Inclino ad parabolam aurem meam: aperiam in cithara enigma meum.
Ps 56:9	Exsurge, gloria mea; exsurge, psalterium et cithara ; exurgam diluculo.	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cythara exurgam diluculo	Surge, gloria mea; surge, psalterium et cithara : surgam mane.
Ps 67:26	Praeuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus, in medio iuuenularum tympanistriarum .	praeuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenum tympanistriarum	Praecesserunt cantatores eos qui post tergum psallebant in medio puellarum tympanistriarum .
Ps 70:22	Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam, Deus; psallam tibi in cithara , sanctus Israel.	et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in cythara deus sanctus isrl	Ego autem confitebor tibi in uasis psalterii ueritatem tuam, Deus meus: cantabo tibi in cithara , Sancte Israel.
Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum ; psalterium iucundum, cum cithara .	sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara	Adsumite carmen, et date tympanum , citharam decoram cum psalterio .
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomenia tuba , in insigni die solemnitis uestrae;	canite in initio mensis tuba in die insignis sollempnitatis uestre	Clangite in neomenia bucina , et in medio mense die solemnitis nostrae.
Ps 91:4	in decachordo psalterio ; cum cantico, in cithara .	in decacordo psalterio cum cantico et cithara	in decachordo et in psalterio ; in cantico in cithara .
Ps 97:5	Psallite Domino in cithara ; in cithara et uoce psalmi.	psallite deo nostro in cithara in cithara uoce psalmi	Canite Domino in cithara ; in cithara et uoce carminis.
Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus, et uoce tubae corneae. Iubilate in conspectu regis Domini;	in tubis ductilibus et uoce tubae corneae iubilate in conspectu regis domino	In tubis et clangore bucinae iubilate coram rege Domino.
Ps 107:3	Exurge, gloria mea; exurge, psalterium et cithara ; exurgam diluculo.	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara exurgam diluculo	Consurge, psalterium et cithara : consurgam mane.
Ps 136:2	In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra;	in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra	Super salices in medio eius suspendimus citharas nostras.
Ps 143:9	Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi, in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.	deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in psalterio decem cordarum psallam tibi	Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi; in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.
Ps 146:7	Praecinite Domino in confessione, psallite Deo nostro in cithara .	incipite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara	Canite Domino in confessione: canite Deo nostro in cithara ;
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius in choro, in tympano et psalterio psallant ei.	laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei	Laudent nomen eius in choro: in tympano et cithara cantent ei.
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tubae ; laudate eum in psalterio et cithara .	laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio et cythara	Laudate eum in clangore bucinae : laudate eum in psalterio et cithara .
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano et choro; laudate eum in chordis et organo .	laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in chordis et organo	Laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in chordis et organo .
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis.	laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus: laudate eum in cymbalis tinnientibus.



world. Gallicanum is the second Hieronymian translation of the Book of Psalms, a version correcting the readings of his first one. It was made after the text of the Hexapla, the six synchronized versions of the Old Testament text, two of them in Hebrew, four of them in Greek, placed side by side (hence Gallicanum's occasional description as the Hexaplaric version). Gallicanum is the most copied and used Latin version. Saint Jerome also produced a third translation, the so-called Hebraicum, using pre-Masoretic Hebrew texts, but this version was never used in liturgy.

The Milanese or Ambrosianum Psalter is the version used in the Ambrosian rite of Milan. Traditionally considered to be made in mid-fourth century from the Septuagint, its readings are often very similar to those of Romanum. Last but not least, the Mozarabic Psalter is the version used in the Mozarabic rite of the Iberian Peninsula.

Milanese / Ambrosianum

Confitemini Domino in **cithara**:
in **psalterio** decem chordarum psallite ei.
Introibo ad altare Dei: ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in **cythara**, Deus, Deus meus:...

Ascendit Deus in iubilatione: et Dominus in voce **tubae**.

Inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam: aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam.

Exurge, gloria mea, exurge, **psalterium** et **cithara**: exurgam diluculo.

Praeuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus: in medio iuuenum **tympanistriarum**.

Et ego confitebor tibi in populis, Domine: in vasis psalmorum veritatem tuam, Deus. Psallam tibi in **cithara**, sanctus Israel;...

Sumite psalmum et date **tympanum**: **psalterium** cum **cythara**.

Canite in initio mensis **tuba**: in die insignis sollemnitatis vestrae.

In decacordo **psalterio**: cum cantico et **cythara**.

Psallite Domino in **cithara**: in **cithara**, et in voce psalmi.

In **tuba** abietum et voce **tubae** corneae: iubilate in conspectu Regis Domini.

Exurge, gloria mea, exurge, **psalterium** et **cithara**: exurgam diluculo.

In salicibus, in medio eius: suspendimus **organa** nostra.

LIPSESC p. 158-159

Incipite Domino in confessione: psallite Deo nostro in **cithara**.

Laudent nomen eius in choro: in **tympano** et **psalterio** psallant ei.

Laudate eum in sono **tubae**: laudate eum in **psalterio** et **cithara**.

Laudate eum in **tympano** et choro: laudate eum in chordis et **organo**.

Laudate eum in **cymbalis** benesonantibus, laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis.

Mozarabic

confitemini Domino in **cithara**
in **psalterio** decem chordarum psallite ei.
et introibo ad altare dei mei ad deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam confitebor tibi in **cithara** deus deus meus.

ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in uoce **tubae**

inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam

exurge gloria mea exurge **psalterium** et **cithara** exurgam diluculo

praeuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenularum **tympanistriarum**

et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in **cithara** sancte srahel

sumite psalmum et date **tympanum** **psalterium** iocundum cum **cithara**

canite in initio mensis **tuba** in die insignis sollemnitatis nostrae

in decem cordarum **psalterio** cum cantico et **cithara**.

psallite deo nostro in **cithara** in **cithara** et uoce psalmi.

in **tubis** abietum et uoce **tubae** corneae iubilate in conspectu regis domino

exurge **psalterium** et **cithara** exurgam diluculo

in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus **organa** nostra

deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in **psalterio** decem cordarum psallam tibi

canite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in **cithara**

laudent nomen eius in choro in **tympano** et **psalterio** psallant ei

laudate eum in sono **tubae** laudate eum in **psalterio** et **cithara**

laudate eum in **tympano** et choro laudate eum in cordis et **organo**

laudate eum in **cymbalis** bene sonantibus laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis

Fig. 3. Sainte-Foy abbey church (France), column capital of the cloister, late 11th century-early 12th century. Wind and string instruments. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Biay.

SOURCES:

For the edited text of the *Gallicanum*, *Romanum*, and for the *Mozarabic Psalter*, see Ayuso Marazuela 1962, vol. 2, p. 512, 574, 594, 602, 644, 694, 716; and vol. 3, p. 780, 836, 860, 930, 1078, 1110, 1126, 1134, 1138. For the edited text of the *Hebraicum*, see Harden 1922, p. 35, 51, 56, 58, 68, 80, 86, 103, 118, 124, 125, 142, 178, 186, 189, 192. For the edited text of the *Milanese / Ambrosianum Psalter*, see Magistretti 1905, p. 33, 47, 51, 53, 61, 71, 76, 90, 103, 108, 123, 152, 162, 164.

The Oxford Psalter French translation and its derived texts (VA)

The *Oxford Psalter* represents the first French translation of the psalms, and is the head of the largest group of psalm translations within the entire Old French literature. This version, copied in the Douce 320 manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford in the first half of the 12th century, is a faithful translation of the Psalms and Old Testament Canticles, transcribed on a single column, without any Latin text accompanying it. Its autograph nature is proved both by the corrections in the form of erasures and additions (copied as such in all the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group) and by its recently proven links to the Latin text transcribed in the *St Albans Psalter* (Short, Careri, Ruby 2010). Add to this, in our own quotations, the reading *nostre* from *nostrae* (Ps 80:4); or the fact that instead of *exsurge* reiterated three times in Ps 107:3, the *St Albans Psalter* has *psallam* for the first occurrence, a particular

choice reflected in the *Oxford Psalter's* reading *esjorrai*. There are two editions of the Douce 320 text, one made by Fr. Michel in mid-19th century (Michel 1860), and another one by I. Short, published quite recently (Short 2015). I present the Short edition separately from the version copied directly from the manuscript, because its punctuation is not always preferable (cf. Ps 70:22: *la tue uerite deus; ie canterai*, changed into *la tue verité; Deus, je canterai*). The Latin text of the *St Albans Psalter* is also presented next to it, transcribed directly from that manuscript (Hildesheim, Saint Mary Cathedral Library, no reference number).

The translation choices for the musical instruments are: *harpe* for *cithara*; *saltier* for *psalterium*, *buisine* for *buccina* or *tuba*, with the rare exception *tube* for *tuba* in Ps 80:4, due to a probable etymological attraction; *tympane* for *tympalum*; *cymbles* for *cymbalum*; and *organe* or *organo* (Latinism

St Albans Psalter (ms.)	Oxford Psalter (ms.)	Oxford Psalter (Short ed.)
Ps 32:2 Confitemini domino in <i>cythara</i> : in <i>psalterio</i> decem cordarum psallite illi	Regehisiez al segnur en <i>harpe</i> ; en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes cantez a lui	Regehisiez al Segnur en <i>harpe</i> , en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes cantez a lui
Ps 42:4 Et introibo ad altare dei: ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in <i>cythara</i> deus deus meus	E ie enterrai al altel deu; a deu chi esleecet la meie iuente. Ie regehirai a tei en <i>harpe</i> deus li miens deus	E je enterrai a l'altel Deu, a Deu chi esleecet la meie juente. Je regehirai a tei en <i>harpe</i> , Deus li miens Deus
Ps 46:6 Ascendit deus in iubilo: dominus inuoe <i>tubae</i>	Munta deus en cant; li sire en uoiz de <i>buisine</i>	munta Deus en cant, li Sire en voiz de <i>buisine</i>
Ps 48:5 Inclino in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in <i>psalterio</i> propositionem meam.	Ie enclinerai en parole la meie oreille; a ouerrai en <i>saltier</i> la meie proposition.	Je enclinerai en parole la meie oreille, aoverrai en <i>saltier</i> la meie proposition.
Ps 56:9 Exurge gloria mea exurge <i>psalterium</i> et <i>cythara</i> : exurgam diluculo	Esdrece tei la meie glorie esdrece tei <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i> ; ie leuerai par matin	Esdrece tei, la meie glorie, esdrece tei, <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i> ! Je leverai par matin
Ps 67:26 Praeuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus: in medio iuencularum <i>timpanistriarum</i>	Deuancirent li prince coniuint as cantanz; el milliu des iuenceles <i>tympanistres</i>	Devancirent li prince conjuint as cantanz, el milliu des juvenceles <i>tympanistres</i>
Ps 70:22 Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus: psallam tibi in <i>cythara</i> sanctus israhel	Kar nedes ie regehirai a tei es uaisels de salme la tue uerite deus; ie canterai a tei en <i>harpe</i> sainz disrael	Kar nedes je regehirai a tei es vaisels de salme la tue verité; Deus, je canterai a tei en <i>harpe</i> sainz d'Israël
Ps 80:3 Sumite psalmum: et date <i>tympalum</i> : <i>psalterium</i> iocundum cum <i>cythara</i>	Pernez salme. e dunez <i>tympane</i> ; <i>saltier</i> esledeceable ot <i>harpe</i>	Pernez salme e dunez <i>tympane</i> , <i>saltier</i> esledeceable ot <i>harpe</i>
Ps 80:4 Buccinate in neomenia <i>tuba</i> : in insigni die sollemnitis nostrae	Buisinez en la festiuel <i>tube</i> ; el noble iurn de la nostre solennited	Buisinez en la festivel <i>tube</i> , el noble jurn de la nostre solennité
Ps 91:4 In decacordo <i>psalterio</i> : cum cantico in <i>cythara</i>	En <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes; ot cant en <i>harpe</i>	en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes, ot cant en <i>harpe</i>
Ps 97:5 [folio absent from the manuscript]	Cantez al segnur en <i>harpe</i> en <i>harpe</i> e en uoiz de salme	Cantez al Segnur en <i>harpe</i> , en <i>harpe</i> e en voiz de salme
Ps 97:6 [folio absent from the manuscript]	en <i>buisines</i> turneices. e en uoiz de <i>buisine</i> de corn. Cantez en lesguardement del rei segnur	en <i>buisines</i> turneices e en uoiz de <i>buisine</i> de corn! Cantez en l'esguardement del rei Segnur
Ps 107:3 psallam in gloria mea. Exurge <i>psalterium</i> et <i>cythara</i> : exurgam diluculo	esjorrai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i> ; ie mesdreceai par matin	esjorrai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei, <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i> ! Je m'esdreceai par matin
Ps 136:2 In salicibus in medio eius: suspendimus <i>organa</i> nostra	Es salz el milliu de li; suspendimes noz <i>organes</i>	Es salz el milliu de li suspendimes noz <i>organes</i>
Ps 143:9 Deus CANTICUM nouum cantabo tibi: in <i>psalterio</i> decachordo psallam tibi	deus nouel cant ie canterai a te; en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes canterai a tei	Deus, novel cant je canterai a te, en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes canterai a tei
Ps 146:7 Precinite domino in confessione: psallite deo nostro in <i>cythara</i>	Cantez al segnur en confessiun; cantez a nostre deu en <i>harpe</i>	Cantez al Segnur en confessiun, cantez a nostre Deu en <i>harpe</i>
Ps 149:3 Laudent nomen eius in choro: in <i>tympano</i> et <i>psalterio</i> psallant ei	Lodent le num de lui en carole; en <i>tympane</i> . e <i>saltier</i> cantent a lui	Lodent le num de lui en carole; en <i>tympane</i> e <i>saltier</i> cantent a lui
Ps 150:3 Laudate eum in sono <i>tubae</i> : laudate eum in <i>psalterio</i> et <i>cythara</i>	Loez lui en suen de <i>buisine</i> ; loez lui en <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i>	Loëz lui en suen de <i>buisine</i> , loëz lui en <i>saltier</i> e <i>harpe</i>
Ps 150:4 Laudate eum in <i>tympano</i> et choro: laudate eum in chordis et <i>organo</i>	Loez lui en <i>tympane</i> e choro; loez lui en cordes e <i>organo</i>	Loëz lui en <i>tympane</i> e choro, loëz lui en cordes e <i>organo</i>
Ps 150:5 Laudate eum in <i>cymbalis</i> benesonantibus: laudate eum in <i>cymbalis</i> iubilationis	Loez lui en <i>cymbles</i> bien sonanz; loez lui en <i>cymbles</i> de ledece	Loëz lui en <i>cymbles</i> bien sonanz, loëz lui en <i>cymbles</i> de ledece

by error) for *organum*. Most of these translation choices are respected in the other translations of the psalms, either because of the popularity of the *Oxford Psalter* or because they represent translation clusters.

The *Winchester Psalter* or *Psalter of Henry of Blois* (ms Cotton Nero c iv of the British Library) includes one of the most interesting bilingual (two-column) copies of the *Oxford Psalter*. It was probably made in Saint-Swithun, close to Winchester, in the 12th century, for the Anglo-Norman bishop alluded to in its name. The French language plays the role of a framework for the texts included in this manuscript. As such, the French translation always occupies the inner column (closer to the spine) on each folio in the first quire of the *Psalter* (f. 46r-50v), moving onto the right column afterwards. The legends of the Christological Cycle inserted in between the calendar and the psalms also have titles in French, but the text inscriptions inside of the images are in Latin.

There are not many variations in the translation choices of this version in comparison with the one transcribed in the Douce 320 manuscript in Oxford. The occasional transcription of *psaltier* instead of *saltier* may not be quoted as variation (cf. Ps 32:2 – *cithara* / *cythara*; *illi* / *ei*). Only the reading *organe* instead of *organo* (repeated in other variants of the manuscript group) may be of interest; or the suppression of *tei* in Ps 56:9. As for the *en son de buisine* where the *Oxford Psalter* has *en suen de buisine* (Ps 150:3), *son* is a correction. The initial transcription was *so_n*, with the third letter erased during the revision. Finally, it is worth noting that the *Winchester Psalter* presents the reading *in saltier* at Ps 91:4, where the preposition *in* is an error of the painter, because the Latin and French majuscules were painted at a different time. Nevertheless, the scribe of the *Winchester Psalter* also corrected some of the Latin readings of the *Oxford Psalter*. At Ps 150:4, where the Oxford manuscript has *en tympane e choro*, the British Library one has *en tympane e chore* (cf. *organe* instead of *organo* in the same verse).

Other manuscripts may be mentioned as well, but the readings preserved in their texts do not differ much from the one in the *Oxford Psalter* either. Such is the case of the Paris manuscript BnF, n. acq. lat. 1670 (end of the 12th century) or that of the *Corbie Psalter*, Paris, BnF, lat. 768, where the French text has been erased up to Ps 68 (f. 10r-58v). But there are also unfortunate cases, such as that of the *Copenhagen Psalter* (Copenhagen, Universitetsbiblioteket Arnamagnasanske Samling 618 4^o, from the second half or at the end of the 12th century), where the French text has been erased in the 16th century in order to make space for an Icelandic translation of the psalms (Skårup 1977). As for the fragment of the manuscript in Oxford, Saint John's College, HB4 / 4.a.4.21 (I.subt.1.47), it contains only the Ps 9:5-10 and Ps 9:15-18. All the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group are of a much later date.

It is most unfortunate that an inter-linear translation from an independent translation, the so-called *Orne Psalter* from the mid-12th century, cannot be analysed here (Samaran 1929). It is but

Winchester Psalter Lat. (ms.)

Confitemini domino in *cythara*;
in *psalterio* decem cordarum psallite ei
Et introibo ad altare dei; ad deum qui
letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor
tibi in *cythara* deus deus meus
Ascendit deus iniubilo; dominus in uoce
tube
Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam;
aperiam in *psalterio* propositionem meam.
Exurge gloria mea. exurge *psalterium* &
cithara; exurgam diluculo
Preuenerunt principes coniuncti
psallentibus; in medio iuencularum
timpanistriarum
Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi
ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in
cythara sanctus israhel
Sumite psalmum & date *tympanum*;
psalterium iocundum cum *cythara*
Buccinate in neomenia *tuba*; in insigni die
sollennitatis nostre
In decacordo *psalterio*; cum cantico in
cythara
Psallite domino in *cythara* in *cythara* &
uoce psalmi
in *tubis* ductilibus & uoce *tubae* corneae.
Iubilare in conspectu regis domini
psallam in gloria mea. Exurge *psalterium*
& *cythara*; exurgam diluculo
In salicibus in medio eius; suspendimus
organa nostra
Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in
psalterio decacordo psallam tibi
Precinite domino in confessione; psallite
deo nostro in *cithara*
Laudent nomen eius in choro;
in *tympano* & *psalterio* psallant ei
Laudate eum in sono *tube*;
laudate eum in *psalterio* & *cithara*
Laudate eum in *tympano* & choro;
laudate eum in cordis & *organo*
Laudate eum in *cimbali* benesonantibus
laudate eum in *cimbali* iubilationis

Winchester Psalter Fr. (ms.)

Regehiseiz al seigneur en *harpe*; en *saltier*
de dis cordes cantezalui
E ie enterrai al altel deu; a deu ki
esleecet la meie iuente. Ie gehirai atei
en *harpe* deus li miens deus
Muntat deus en cant li sire en uoiz de
buisine
Ie enclinerai en parole la meie oreille;
a ourerai en *saltier* la meie proposition.
Esdrece la meie glorie esdrece *saltier* e
harpe ieo leuerai par matin
Deuancirent li prince coniuint as
cantanz; el milliu des iuenceles
tympanistres
Kar nedes ie regehirai atei es uaisels de
salme la tue uerite deus; ie canterai atei
en *harpe* sainz de israhel
Pernez salme. e dune *tympane*; *psaltier*
esledeceable oth *harpe*
Buisinez en la festiuel *tube*; e el noble
iurn de la nostre sollennitid
In *saltier* de dis cordes; oth chant en *harpe*
Cantez al seigneur en *harpe* en *harpe* e en
uoiz de salme
en *busines* turneices e en uoiz de *buisine*
de corn. Cantez en lesguardement del rei
seigneur
esioirai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei
saltier e *harpe*; ieo mesdreceai par matin
Es salz el milliu de li; suspendimes noz
organes
Deus nouel cant ie canterai a te; en
saltier de dis cordes canterai a tei
Cantez al seigneur en confessiun; cantez a
nostre deu en *harpe*
Loent le num de lui en carole;
en *tympane* e en *saltier* cantent a lui
Loez lui en son de *buisine*; loez lui en
saltier e en *harpe*
Loez lui en *tympane* e chore; loez lui en
cordes e *organe*
Loez lui en *cymbles* bien sonanz; loez lui
en *cymbles* de leece

SOURCES:

For the references to the *St Albans* Latin manuscript version, see the p. 131, 156, 164, 166, 182, 200, 210, 236, 258, 294, 350, 362, 367-368, 371, 372. For the *Oxford Psalter* French manuscript version, see the f. 43r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 49v, 51v, 53r, 56r, 59r, 60v, 64r, 70v, 72r, 73r, 73v. For the same text in the Ian Short edition, see Short 2015, p. 59, 67, 69, 70, 75, 80, 83, 91, 98, 101, 109, 126, 129, 131, 132. For the *Winchester Psalter* Latin and French manuscript versions, see the f. 60v, 67v, 69v, 70r, 74v, 79r, 81r, 88v, 94v, 97r, 104v, 118r, 121r, 122v, 123r, 123v.

a fragment, a bifolium preserved at the National Archives in Paris, under the designation AB XIX 1734 in the Orne dossier, hence its name, and it contains only the verses Ps 77:40-62 and Ps 87:10-Ps 87:14 which are beyond the scope of this study.

The British Library Additional 35283 manuscript contains another copy of the *Oxford Psalter*. So far unedited, this version dates back to the first half of the 13th century. It includes a calendar (f. 1r-6v); the Latin psalms with their French translation on a second column, and with three leaves missing (f. 7r-112v); as well as the Old Testament canticles with their French translation (113r-115v); and a litany (f. 116r-118v). Several annotations made by a 14th century hand and the used aspect of of the folios of the codex support the idea that the manuscript was well read. French was the principal language of its scribe, as testified by a series of suppressions and errors in the Latin text on f. 70r, 78v-79r, and 86r-v. Even the very end of the

Latin litany on f. 117v contains three unexpected French words (Agrigoroaei 2016).

Most of the translation choices are the same as the ones I found in the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group, but there are some curious cases that need to be examined further. *Saltier* *juable* instead of *saltier* *esledeceable* (Ps 80:3) may be explained through the influence of the Latin text (*psalterium iocundum*), but it may also originate in an earlier version of the same translation (*vide infra*, *Arundel French Psalter*). Nevertheless, *el noble jorn de la uostre festiualtét*, transcribed instead of *el noble jorn de la nostre solennité* (Ps 80:4), can be explained only through the redistribution of the words in the verse, with a displacement of the adjective *festivel* from *tube* to another segment of the same verse. It is also worth mentioning that the word *tube* from the *Oxford Psalter* has been replaced by *buisine*.

Another manuscript from the *Oxford Psalter* group is also preserved at the British Library. Manuscript Harley 273,

Additional 35283 Lat. (ms.)	Additional 35283 Fr. (ms.)	Harley 273 (ms.)
Ps 32:2 Confitemini domino in <i>cithara</i> ; in <i>psalterio</i> decem cordarum psallite illi.	Regeissez al seignur en <i>harpe</i> ; en <i>saltier</i> de dis cordes chantez alui;	Regeisez au seignur en <i>harpe</i> ; e en <i>psauter</i> de dis cordes chantez a li.
Ps 42:4 Et introibo ad altare dei ad <i>deum</i> qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in <i>cythara</i> deus deus meus;	E ieo enterai al altel deu; a deu ki esleecet la meie iuuenta. Ieo regehirai atei en <i>harpe</i> deus li miens deus;	E ieo entreraï al auter deu a deu qe enleesce ma iuuenta. Ieo regeieraï a toi en <i>harpe</i> deu...
Ps 46:6 Ascendit deus iniubilo; et dominus inuocet <i>tube</i> ;	Muntat deus enchant; lisire enuoz de <i>buisine</i>	Monta deus en ioie; e li sires en voiz de <i>buisine</i> .
Ps 48:5 Inclinao inparabolam aurem meamm aperiam in <i>psalterio</i> propositionem meam.	Ieo enclinaerai en prouerbe ma oreille auerai en <i>saltier</i> la meie proposition;	Enclinaerai en parable moraille; oureraï en <i>sauter</i> ma proposition.
Ps 56:9 [leaves missing after f. 54v – Ps 49]	[leaves missing after f. 54v – Ps 49]	Endrecez ma gloire endrecez <i>sauter</i> et <i>harpe</i> ; ie leueraï par matin.
Ps 67:26 [leaves missing before f. 55r – Ps 67]	[leaves missing before f. 55r – Ps 67]	Auant uindrent les princes ensemble ioint as chantanz; en mileu de iuenseals <i>tympanistres</i> .
Ps 70:22 Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi; ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in <i>cythara</i> sanctus israel	Kar nedes ieo regehirai atei es uaisseaus de salme ta ueritet deus. ieo canterai atei en <i>harpe</i> sainz de israel.	Car e ieo regehirai a toi; en vesseals de saume; ta <i>verite</i> deu chanterai atoi en <i>harpe</i> seinz israel.
Ps 80:3 svmite psalmum & date <i>tympanum</i> <i>psalterium</i> iocundum cum <i>cythara</i> .	Pernez psalme e dunez <i>tympane</i> <i>saltier</i> iuable od <i>harpe</i> .	Pernez saume et donez <i>tympan</i> ; <i>sauter</i> ioiable oue <i>harpe</i> .
Ps 80:4 Buccinate. inneomenia <i>tuba</i> ; ininsigni die sollemnitis uestre.	Businez en la nuele lune de <i>buisine</i> . el noble iorn de la uostre festiualtet.	Businez en la nouele lune o <i>tube</i> en noble ior de nostre solempnete.
Ps 91:4 Indecacordo <i>psalterio</i> : cum cantico in <i>cythara</i> .	En <i>saltier</i> dediscordes ot chant de <i>harpe</i> . Chantez alseignur en <i>harpe</i> en <i>harpe</i> et en uoiz de psalme.	En <i>sauter</i> de diz cordes; oue chanconen <i>harpe</i> .
Ps 97:5 Psallite domino in <i>cythara</i> in <i>cythara</i> & uoce psalmi.	en <i>buisines</i> turneices et en uoiz de <i>buisine</i> de corn. Chantez enlesgardement del rei segnur;	Chantez au seignur en <i>harpe</i> . en <i>harpe</i> et en uoiz de saume; en <i>buisines</i> amenable et en voiz de <i>tube</i> de corn! Chantez en le regar de le roi segnur...
Ps 97:6 in <i>tubis</i> ductilibus et in uoce <i>TVBE</i> cornee. Iubilare in conspectu regis domini;	[leaves missing before f. 86r – Ps 116]	... ie ioieraï en ma gloire. Adrecez toi, <i>sauter</i> et <i>harpe</i> ; ieo me dreceï par matin
Ps 107:3 [leaves missing before f. 86r – Ps 116]	[leaves missing before f. 86r – Ps 116]	En sauces en milui de lui suspendimes nos <i>organes</i> .
Ps 136:2 In sallicibus in medio eius suspendimus <i>organa</i> nostra.	Es salz el milliw de li; suspendimes noz <i>organes</i> .	Deu chant nouel chanterai a toi; en <i>sauter</i> de diz cordes chanterai a toi.
Ps 143:9 Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in <i>psalterio</i> decacordo psallam tibi;	Deus nuuel cant canteraia tei; en <i>psalter</i> de dis cordes canteraia tei.	Chantez au seignur en <i>confession</i> chantez a nostre deu en <i>harpe</i> .
Ps 146:7 Precinite domino in confessione: psallite deo nostro in <i>cythara</i> ;	Loent lenun delui encarole. en <i>tympane</i> . et <i>salter</i> cantent ali;	Loent le non de li encarole; en <i>tymbre</i> et <i>sauter</i> chantent a lui.
Ps 149:3 Laudent nomen eius in choro; in <i>tympano</i> et <i>salterio</i> psallant ei;	Loez lui enson de <i>buisine</i> ; loez lui en <i>saltier</i> et en <i>harpe</i> ;	Loez le en soun de <i>buisine</i> ; loez le en <i>sauter</i> et <i>harpe</i> .
Ps 150:3 Laudate eum in sono <i>tube</i> ; laudate eum in <i>psalterio</i> & <i>cythara</i> ;	Loez lient <i>tympane</i> echore; loez lui encordes et <i>organe</i> ;	Loez le en <i>tymbre</i> e en karole; loez le en cordes et en <i>organe</i> .
Ps 150:4 Laudate eum in <i>tympano</i> et choro laudate eum in cordis & <i>organo</i> ;	Loez lui en <i>cymbles</i> bien sonanz; loez li en <i>cymbles</i> de iubilatiun...	Loez le en <i>cloches</i> bien sonanz; loez le en <i>cymbales</i> de leesce;...
Ps 150:5 Laudate eum in <i>cymbalis</i> benesonantibus laudate eum in <i>cymbalis</i> iubilatiunis;		

also known as the *Ludlow Psalter* (though it is not a real psalter) is most likely a simple collection of various texts. The first section of the manuscript includes a calendar (f. 1r-6v) a copy of the Old French psalm translation (f. 8r-53r), canticles, and other religious texts (f. 53r-59r). No edition of the psalm translation was ever published; some quotations were published by V. Agrigoroaei (Agrigoroaei 2019) in an analysis of the Harley 273 rewriting of the original translation. The main interest of this particular version is its late date (14th century) and the aggressive reshaping of the original *Oxford Psalter* text by an English-speaking scribe.

Most of the Douce 320 original translation choices are respected (*harpe*; (*p*)*sauter*; *busine*; *tympanistres*; *tympan(e)*; *organnes*). Even the *tube* from the translation of Ps 80:4 has been preserved. However, the translations of Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4 show a replacement of the original *tympane* with the word *tymbre*. And in Ps 97:6 there is another curious substitution, *tube de corn* instead of *buisine de corn*

of the *Oxford Psalter* tradition.

Last but not least, the *Arundel Psalter* is probably one of the most interesting versions that need to be analysed. This copy of a French translation of the psalms was transcribed in manuscript Arundel 230 of the British Library and dates back to the second half or to the end of the 12th century. It contains a calendar (f. 1v-5v); the psalms (f. 7r-146r); canticles (f. 146r-157v); a litany, with petitions and collects (f. 157v-161r); as well as an office of the dead (f. 162r-179v); Gloria and Creed (f. 180r-v); but there is also an incomplete copy of Philippe de Thaon's *Comput* at the end of the codex (f. 182r-194v), copied by a hand similar to the one who transcribed the Old French gloss. The Latin text and the interlinear French translation were diplomatically edited by A. Beyer at the end of the 19th century (Beyer 1887 and Beyer 1888), but an edition of the text is still wanting. In many situations, the Old French translation closely follows the translation choices of the *Oxford Psalter*

group. It is therefore possible that the *Arundel Psalter* may be a rewriting of the latter (Sneddon 1978), but another interpretation is equally plausible: that the *Arundel French Psalter* could be a development from a primary gloss version that also lead to the creation of the *Oxford Psalter* (Herman 1954). The situation is unclear and this may also be due to the particular Latin version that may have been used in its creation, a Gallicanum with many readings from Romanum (Pignatelli, Lavrentiev 2017). Nevertheless, in our particular case, it is worth noting that in the *Oxford Psalter*, *esledeceable ot harpe* from Ps 80:3 is a correction upon an erasure (*esledeceable* being an adjective for the previous word, *saltier*), and that the sequence was rewritten into the blank margin of the leaf, because the erased adjective was much shorter and there was not enough space to transcribe the correction within. The fact that manuscript Additional 35283 and manuscript Harley 273 present a different reading, identical to Arundel 230's *saltier juable*, may prove that the 1954 Herman hypothesis should not be discarded before a thorough verification is made.

As for the text copied on its leaves, the *Arundel French Psalter* is one of the most thought-provoking Old French translations of the psalms. The verses

Arundel Psalter Lat. (ms.)

Confitemini domino in *cythara*;
in *psalterio* decem cordarum psallite.

Et introibo ad altare dei; ad *deum* qui
laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor
tibi in *cythara* *deus deus* meus;

Ascendit deus iniubilo; dominus in uoce
tubae.

Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam;
aperiam in *psalterio* propositionem meam.

Exurge gloria mea. exurge *psalterium* &
cythara; exurgam diluculo.

Praeueniunt principes coniuncti
psallentibus; in medio iuencularum
tympanistrium.

Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi
ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in
cythara *sanctus israel*.

Sumite psalmum & date *tymphanum*;
psalterium iocundum cum *cythara*.

Buccinate in neomenia *tuba*; in insigni
die solennitatis nostrae.

In decacordo *psalterio*; cum cantico in
cythara.

Psallite domino in *cythara*. in *cythara* &
uoce psalmi;

in *tubis* ductilibus & uoce *tubae* corneae.
Iubilare in conspectu regis domini;

...& psallam in gloria mea. Exurge *psalterium* &
cythara; exurgam diluculo.

In psallicibus in medio eius; suspendimus
organa nostra.

Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in
psalterio de decordo psallam tibi.

Precinite domino in confessione; psallite
deo nostro in *cithara*.

Laudent nomen eius in choro;
in *timpano* & *psalterio* psalleant ei.

Laudate eum in sono *tube*;
laudate eum in *psalterio* & *cithara*.

Laudate eum in *timpano* & choro;
laudate eum in cordis & *organo*.

Laudate eum in *cimbali* bene sonantibus;
laudate eum in *cimbali* iubilationis;

Arundel Psalter Fr. (ms.)

Regehisez alseignur en *harpe*; en *salterie*
dedis cordes chantez

E io enterai alalter dedeu; alseignur chi
esleecet lamoie iuente. Io regeirai atei
en *harpe* *deus deus* limiens;

Munta deus en chant; lisire enuoiz
de *businie*;

Io enclinerai en parole la moie oreille;
aouerai en *saltier* la moie proposicion.

Esdrece tei lamoie *glorie*. esdrece tei
psalter en *harpe*; io leuerai parmatin.

Deuancimerent liprince coniuunt
aschantanz; inmilli des iuenceals
tympanistres.

Kar et io regeirai atei esuaisseals
desalme latue ueritet deus; io canterai
atei en *harpe* seinz *israel*.

Pernez salme. e dunez *tympane*; *saltier*
iuable ot le *harpe*;

Businez enlafestiel *buisine*; en noble
iurn delanostre sollempnited.

En *saltier* demiecordes; oth chant
en *harpe*.

Chantez a nostre seigneur en *harpe* en-
harpe e enuoiz de *busine*.

en *busine* demenable e enuoiz decorn.
Chantez enleuardement delrei seigneur;

et esioirai en lamoieglorie. Esdrecetei
saltier en *harpe*; io mesdreceai parmatin.

Eshalz elmilli delui; suspendimes. noz
orgenes.

Deus nouel cant io canterai atei;
en *salter* dediscordes chanterai atei.

Cantez a nostre a nostre seigneur encon-
fessionne; cantez a nostre deu en *harpee*.

Loent lenun delui encarole; encarole;
etent *tympane* e en *salter* cantent alui.

Loez lui ensun de *busine*; loez lui
en *salter* een *harpe*.

Loez lui entimbre et en carole; loez lui
encordes et *organe*.

Loez lui entympane bien sonanz; loez lui
entimbles deleece.

SOURCES:

For the references to the Latin and French versions of the *Additional 35283* copy of the psalms, see f. 34r, 48r, 52r, 53r-v, 60v, 65r-v, 77r, 82v, 82v-83r, 103v-104r, 109r, 111r, 112v of that manuscript. For the *Harley 273* French manuscript version, see the f. 17r, 21r, 22r, 22v, 25r, 27v, 29r, 33r, 36r, 37v, 42r, 50r, 51v, 52v, 53r. For the *Arundel Psalter's* Latin and French manuscript versions, see the f. 34r, 46v, 49r, 51r, 58v, 67r, 71r, 83v, 94r, 98v, 112r, 136v, 142r, 144r, 145v, 146r in that manuscript.

that interest us are full of errors and rewritings of all sorts, including errors and changes in the Latin text. *Psallite illi* from Ps 32:2 is rendered as *psallite* in the Latin text of manuscript Arundel 230, and the translation for *psallite* (*chantez*) is transcribed on the previous word (*cordarum*). Also, Ps 136:2 has *in psallicibus* in the Latin text, a clear error reflected in the Old French translation which glosses it as *es halz*. At the same time, Ps 42:4 has *de deu* instead of *deu*; *al seignur* instead of *a deu*; and *deus deus li miens* instead of *deus li miens deus*. The last choice is clearly determined by this particular copy of the Latin text (*deus deus meus*), but the previous ones are hard to explain.

Ps 91:4 has a curious reading *saltier de mie cordes* instead of *saltier de dis cordes* (probably a copying error, since the scribe copied the correct translation in Ps 143:9). Next, *kar nedes je* became *kar et jo* (Ps 70:22). Ps 97:6 has *busine demenable* instead of *buisines turneices*; Ps 146:7 has a Latin word by mistake, *en confessione* instead of *en confessiun*; and Ps 146:7 has a nonsensical *harpee* instead of *harpe*.

But there are also a series of evident links to the *Oxford Psalter*. In Ps 56:9, the scribe adds *tei* two times to *esdrece*, as is the case in the *Oxford Psalter* (and not in all of the texts derived from it), therefore stemming from the original translation. He also also writes *psalter en harpe* instead of *saltier e harpe*, which could be a copyist's error, except that he does it again in the translation of Ps 107:3 and this means that the error must be related to his particular understanding of what the two instruments were.

The oscillation between *chanter* and *canter* also proves that this is a copy of the *Oxford Psalter*, with *chanter* being a probable reflex of the scribe. Ps 67:26 has another copy error (*devancinerent*, corrected to *devancerent*, where the

Oxford Psalter has *devancirent*). Ps 97:5 has *a nostre seignur* instead of *al seignur* (cf. Ps 146:7 for *al seignur* replaced by a copy error: *a nostre a nostre seignur*; cf. the repetition *en carole en carole* from Ps 149:3) and *en voix de busine* instead of *en voix de salme*. Both of them are unmotivated interventions of the scribe. They may be due to his lack of attention or because he was working with two manuscripts (source and copy) at the same time (the second one being an anticipation of a word in the next verse), especially since the Ps 97:6 has another nonsensical omission: *de corn* instead of *de busine de corn*. This type of error raises nevertheless a problem, because its nature points towards the scribe's possible use of a pre-existing French interlinear gloss in a source manuscript.

Finally, there are also links with later copies of the *Oxford Psalter*. For instance, the *saltier juable* in the translation of Ps 80:3 is a reading also recorded in manuscript Additional 35283, and one can imagine that the Arundel reading could have originated in an earlier version of the text. But the next verse has *sollempnité* and not *festiualté*, therefore being much closer to the original version than that of manuscript Additional 35283. Last but not least, the real questions concerning the translation arise in the glosses of Ps 150:4-5. *En timbre et en carole* (Ps 150:4) is a choice found again in the Harley 273 manuscript version. Nevertheless, the Arundel 230 manuscript reading *en tympane... en timbles* (Ps 150:5) does not correspond to the situation in that manuscript, where the two types of cymbals have been translated as *cloches* and *cymbales*. The Harley 273 copy has, on the other hand, a different type of connection with the *Oxford Psalter* original, for it uses *cymbales* for the latter's *cymbles*.

The First French Psalm Commentary for Laurette of Alsace (VA)

Much like the *Arundel Psalter*, the *First French Psalm Commentary made for Laurette d'Alsace* also presents Latin verses with a French interlinear gloss which may have been inspired by the *Oxford Psalter* translation. This continental text (at its origin, for it was later copied in England as well) was copied with a version of the Gallicanum in three of its manuscripts. The most important manuscript is preserved in New York, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, codex 338. The Gallicanum and its French gloss occupy a small column, with the text of the French commentary completing the rest of the folio and covering the whole width of the folio in the lower part. The o. iii. 15 manuscript of the Hereford Cathedral Library dates back to the end of the 12th century and presents a text written on the latter's whole width, with a French interlinear translation, and followed by the French commentary. As for the Durham Cathedral Library manuscripts A II 11-13, its interlinear French translation does not appear consistently therein, but the text of the three Durham manuscripts forms a complete commentary (Ps 1-150). It was implied that the interlinear gloss of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript may contain readings from the verses transcribed by a certain *h3* scribe in the *Oxford Psalter*, while others assumed that the *Orne Psalter* gloss could have influenced the gloss in the three manuscripts of the *First French Commentary*, but it is difficult to estimate the real value of these approximate observations. The editor of the text concedes that this particular translation may be an independent one, and that some of the similitudes may be due to the presence of translation clusters (Gregory

1990, vol. 1, p. 6-10).

There is no complete edition of the text. S. Gregory edited only the commentary for Ps 1-50, in 2 volumes (Gregory 1990), while Ch. J. Liebman edited extracts in order to support a theory that the *Commentary* may have been written by Simon de Tournai (Liebman 1982). According to S. Gregory, the text was written in at least four stages by three or four authors. The first, author of the commentary for the first fifty psalms, would have written it in 1163-1164. The second (or maybe again the first) would have written in ca. 1165-1166 the commentary for the Ps 68-100. The third may have translated the commentary for the Ps 51-67 in 1175-1185, or before 1187. And the fourth and last one worked after 1187, completing the rest of the commentary (Ps 101-150). This composite aspect of the *First French Commentary* makes it impossible to speak of translation choices in connection with a certain writer. Furthermore, the extraction of the psalm verses with musical instruments from this text would be extremely painstaking, because of the incomplete status of the edition (Ps 1-50) and because the only manuscript containing the text of the last stage of the *Commentary* (Ps 101-150), the Durham Cathedral Library A II 13, is not yet available for an online consultation. From the point of view of the psalm translation, the selected excerpts presented on this page do not present different choices from the ones already observed in the *Oxford Psalter* group. *Cythara* is rendered as *harpe*; *psalterium* as *psaltier* or *psalterie*; *tube* as *boisine*; *cymbala* as *cymbes* or *cembes*; and *organum* as *orgue*.

Ps 32:2 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Confitemini Domino in cythara; in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi.

Regeïssiez le Seigneur en la harpe; o el psaltier de dis cordes le loëz bien faisanz.

COMMENTARY:

Confitemini Domino in cythara etc. Cythara ço est harpe. Harpe est faite de fust et de cordes qui sunt el fust tendues et sonent en bas. Li fust ço est qu'il signifie la croiz nostre Segnur, les cordes nostres car. En la croiz nostre Segnur devuns nostre car estendre, ço est por l'onorance et por le servise de la sue croiz devuns nos nostre car peneir et traveler, et devuns en bas canter en humilité. Se nos avuns bien, *Dominus dedit*. Se nos avuns mal, *Dominus abstulit*. Toz jors harpés, sit nomen Domini benedictum in psalterio decem cordarum. Li psalters est fais de fust et de cordes d'araim et sone par desore, et signifie caritatem Dei et proximi. El psalter ad dis cordes, et signifie les dis comandementz de la loi, qui enseignent coment um doit Deu ameir et le proisme. Ço est li dolz canz, li delitus, qui haut et cleir sone as oreilles Deu, dunt tote la cort celestiel s'esleëscet et esgoïst.

Ps 42:4 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Confitebor tibi cithara, deus, deus meus. Quare tristis es, anima mea? Et quare conturbas me?

Je regehirai a toi en harpe, Dex, li miens Dex. Por quoi ies tu triste, la moie ame? Et por quoi me troubles tu?

COMMENTARY:

Confitebor tibi in cythara. En tabernacle m'estuet mals et paines soffrir, mais en la maisun, quant geo i venrai, la harperai je, la m'esbanierai geo. *Tabernaculum enim est peregrinantium sive militantium* – li tabernacles est u des pelerins ki se eslongent u de le gent ki vunt en ost. Cum aussi *tabernaculum, bellum intellige, hostem cave*. Quant tu os nomeir le tabernacle, ço dist *beatus Augustinus*, quarde toi de tun enemy, sace que combatre t'estoet. *Intra ad altare Dei* par bone devotiun, par seinte contemplatiun. Prent ta harpe, ço est aies pacience en tes paines, en tes mals que tu soffres por l'amnisteit Deu, car ço signifie la harpe. Vos savez bien que la harpe est faite que li sons li vient par desoz les cordes, et signifie que nos devuns Deu loër et gracier que nos soffrums alcun mal por lui et nos le recoilluns en grêt et en patience. Dunc sone nostre harpe par desoz devers la terre, car de cele part nos viennent li mal et les tribulatiuns. *Si in tribulationis defeceris*, ço dist seins Augustins, cytharam fregisti. Ço est, se tu defals en tes tribulatiuns que tu soffres por Deu, que tu n'en aies pacience, ta harpe as brisee; totes sunt rutes tes cordes, tot est perdue. [...]

Ps 46:6 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Ascendit Deus in iubilatione, et Dominus in voce tube.

Deus monta en granz leëce, et li Sire en voiz de boisine.

COMMENTARY:

Ascendit Deus tot ad litteram en la seinte croiz. Serpens exaltatus ço signifie li serpens que Moyses leva en un fust el desert, ke cil qui l'esgarderoient fussent guari des pointures d'uns serpens ki entre als estoient. [...] *In voce tube*, des anges ki lor disent: [...].

Ps 150:5-6 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TRANSLATION (the Latin text is absent from the edition):

Loez lui en cembes bien sonanz; loez lui en cymbes de jubiliatiun. Chescun esperiz loez le Seigneur!

COMMENTARY:

Les cymbes sunt fundez de areim, si est lur maniere ke heom hurtet l'un a l'autre pur bien suner. Et ceo gloserent asquanz ke ceo esteient nos lievres ki tuchent l'un a l'autre pur Deu

loer et beneir, car par les levres furmet hume les paroles. Mes melz sembler *beato Augustino quod cymbala benesonantia* seient cil ki se entresomunent et enorent a la Deu amur et al soen servise et a la sue loenge. Et ceo pot heom veer k'il i entent *cymbala animata* par ceo k'il dit après: *laudate eum in cimbaliis iubilationis omnis spiritus*, car *iubilatio est mentis exultatio de eternis que verbis exprimi non potest et taceri non debet*. Ceo est une joie de queor ki vient des parmanables joies del ciel et est taunt grant ke la langue nel pot dire ne li quiers nel dait teisir. Ainz la chantet senz parole priveement lui et Deu, et par ceo piert bien k'il parolet de tels cymbes kar li autre ne poeient mie estre *cymbala iubilationis* cil ki de areim sunt fundu. Mes li bon ami Deu ki s'entreamonestent et somunent a Deu amer et a lui servir e a lur prosme aider *in caritate* en tutes celes manieres kimeisters lui est: cil sunt *cymbala iubilationis*. Et fait a noter ke issi cum il par le ciel et par la terre somunt tutes les creatures a la loenge Deu, ceo est somunst nus, ke nus par tutes creatures et en tutes creatures loissum Deu en l'autre psalme: *Laudate Dominum, de celis*, issi par cestes maneres de estruimenz et de chanz met il tutes celes maneres ke nuls heom penser pot ne dire; car si cum cil musicien dient, et veirs est, treis gendres, ces sunt treis principals manieres, sunt de voiz et de suns dunt heom chantet tuz les chanz ke heom penser pot: *voce, flatu, pulsus*, par voiz si cum vus veez ke tute gent chantent; *flatu* par focels u par estives u par aucune maniere de vent ki les chalemels fait soner; *pulsus* sicum cels harpes et tutes iceles manieres ke heom des mains fait suner: ci sunt tutes celes manieres mises, n'en i ad nule ubliee; car cele ki est *in uoce* est mise la u il dist *in choro*; cele ki est *in flatu* est mise la u il dit *in sono tube*; cele ki est *in pulsus*, cele est mise la u il dit *in tympano*. Et signifient ces treis manieres de chant le alme, le esperit, le cors: la voiz, le alme; li venz, l'esperit; li tuchementz, le cors, ke heom tuchet cels harpes, cels psalteries, cels orgues pur faire suner. Et devez saver k'il cestes manieres tutes i ad mises plus par semblances ke par propriété, car tut reguardet a cel vers: *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*. Tutes cestes manieres et cels diversitez de chanz tutes sunt esperituelment es sainz Nostre Seigneur: il sunt *virtutes eius*, il sunt *multitudo magnitudinis eius*; il sunt *tuba*, il sunt *psalterium et cythara*, il sunt *tympanum et chorus*, il sunt *corde et organa*, il sunt *cymbala benesonantia*, il sunt *cymbala iubilationis*, il sunt tut chescun en sun ordene. Il sunt *cytharedi* ke Johans vit *cytharizantes in cytharis suis*. Li harpeur Deu ki lui harpent, et esbanient as harpes de lur cors et as psalteries de lur almes. Bele seor, en la lur compaignie mettet Deu les cors, et les almes de nus en la lur joie et en la lur feste, ke nus ovoec els pussuns chanter *in cimbaliis iubilationis*. *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Ps 48:5 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in salterio propositionem meam.

Jo enclinerai en semblance m'oreille; jo overai el psaltier ma proposition.

COMMENTARY:

...*Aperiam in psalterio. Psalterium* ço est uns estrumens mult doz, et signifie *bonam operationem*, bones ovres. Et est a dire, ge vos enseignerai mais g'en ferai men enseignement tot avant. Ensi dist sainz Lucas: *Que cepit Ihesus facere et docere*. Nostre Sire Jhesus aperit in *psalterio propositionem suam*, car il fist le bien avant et pois enseigna les autres. *Audiamus quod dicimus, faciamus quod precipimus.*

SOURCES:

For the Ps 32:2, Ps 42:4, Ps 46:6, and Ps 48:5 in the *Commentary* see Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 343; and vol. 2, p. 453, 488, 497. For a provisional edition of the commentary of Ps 150:5-6, see Liebman 1982, p. 179-181.

The multilingual case of the Eadwine Psalter (VA)

This particular Old French translation is found in a trilingual manuscript named the *Eadwine Psalter* from the name of the scribe depicted in the same codex (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms R.17.1). The only edition of the French text was published by Fr. Michel at the end of the 19th century (Michel 1876) with an accompanying Hebraicum version, whose interline the French translation occupies. Nevertheless, the Hebraicum published by Fr. Michel is not the one transcribed in the Cambridge manuscript.

Another edition, a doctoral dissertation by D. Markey, includes the correct Latin text of the Hebraicum, but it is still awaiting her publication (Markey 1989). A synthesis of research has been published in a monograph concerning the various texts and images of the manuscript (Markey 1992).

The two other columns on each folio of the manuscript contain the other Latin versions: the Gallicanum occupies the widest column, the one closest to the spine; and the Romanum occupies the middle one. The Gallicanum is accompanied by a version of the *Parva Glossatura*, transcribed on its margins and in between the lines; while the interline of the Romanum contains an Old English gloss translation similar to the French one copied on the interline of the Hebraicum.

The translation has been dated to 1155-1160 and research agrees that it could have been done at the priory of Christ Church. A copy of this translation is preserved in a Paris manuscript (BnF, lat. 8846) of a later date, and containing only the French translation of the Ps 1-97. The

Gloss (ms.)	Gallicanum (ms.)	Romanum (ms.)
selected excerpts		
	Ps 32:2 Confitemini domino in cythara ; in psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi.	Confitemini domino in cythara . in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei.
	Ps 42:4 Et introibo ad altare dei; addeum qui letificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.	Introibo ad altare dei addeum qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.
	Ps 46:6 Ascendit deus in iubilo; dominus inuoce tubae .	Ascendit deus in iubilatione. & dominus in uoce tube .
	Ps 48:5 Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam.	Inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam. aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam.
	Ps 56:9 Exurge gloria mea. exurge psalterium & cythara ; exurgam diluculo.	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium & cythara . exurgam diluculo.
	Ps 67:26 Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus; in medio iuuentutem timpanis-triarum .	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus. in medio iuuentum timpanistiarum .
	Ps 70:22 Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in cythara sanctus israel.	& ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum. ueritatem tuam psallam tibi in cythara deus sanctus israel.
	Ps 80:3 Sumite psalmum & date tympanum ; psalterium iocundum cum cythara	Sumite psalmum & date tympanum . psalterium iocundum cum cythara .
	Ps 80:4 Buccinate inneomenia tuba ; in insigni die sollemnitatis nostrae.	Canite initio mensis tuba . indie insignis sollempnitatis uestrae.
Inneomenia. uel inicio mensis. (f. 145r)	Ps 91:4 In decacordo psalterio ; cum cantico in cythara .	In decachordo psalterio cum cantico & cythara .
	Ps 97:5 Psallite domino in cythara in cythara & uoce psalmi;	Psallite deo nostro in cythara . in cythara & uoce psalmi.
	Ps 97:6 in tubis ductilibus & uoce tube corneae. Iubilare in conspectu regis domini.	in tubis ductilibus & uoce tube corneae. iubilare in conspectu regis domini.
Tuba concrepet regi. psalterium canat deo. cythara cum reliquis; sponso. Tuba terribilis. uel in bello sumitur. uel regiis aduentibus apparatur. Psalterium a summo. Cythara ab imo sonat. (f. 262r)	Ps 107:3 Exsurge psalterium & cythara ; exurgam diluculo.	exurge psalterium & cythara . exurgam diluculo.
Chorus est temperata uocum collectio. (f. 262r)	Ps 136:2 in salicibus in medio eius; suspendimus organa nostra.	in salicibus in medio eius. suspendimus organa nostra.
Cordas ponit pro omni instrumento musico quod cordarum tensione sonat. Organum quasi turris fistulis diuersis fabricata. flatu follium sonans. (f. 262r)	Ps 143:9 Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi; in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi.	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi. in psalterio decemcordarum psallam tibi.
Cymbala bene tinnientia sunt. ex permixtis metallis purissime phiale quae acutum sonum reddunt. (f. 262r)	Ps 146:7 Precinite domino in confessione; psallite deo nostro in cythara .	Incipite domino in confessione. psallite Deo nostro in cythara .
	Ps 149:3 Laudent nomen eius in choro; in tympano & psalterio psallant ei.	Laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano . & psalterio psallant ei.
	Ps 150:3 Laudate eum in sono tube ; laudate eum in psalterio & cythara .	Laudate eum in sono tube ; laudate eum in psalterio & cythara .
	Ps 150:4 Laudate eum in tympano & choro; laudate eum in cordis & organo .	Laudate eum in tympano & choro; laudate eum in cordis & organo .
	Ps 150:5 Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis

Cambridge copy contains a much longer text, with French translations for most psalms, with the exception of Ps 125-130 et 149-150. Last but not least, due to its derivation from the Hebraicum version, the Old French interlinear translation of the *Eadwine Psalter* is different from the one copied in the manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group. There are also a series of corrections, and the French text was transcribed by five different scribes.

Among the particular readings of Eadwine's Hebraicum version one may note: *dei* for *tuum* (Ps 42:4); *dominus* for *deus* (Ps 46:6); *expergiscere* x 3 for *surge* x 3 (Ps 56:9); *psallam* for *cantabo* (Ps 70:22); *buccina* in *neomenia* for in *neomenia* *buccina* (Ps 80:4); *cum* for *in* (Ps 91:4); *nostro* for *domino* (Ps 97:6); and *psallit* for *canite* (Ps 146:7). It is strange that the French translation gloss uses the verb *chanter* in the translations of Ps 70:22 and 146:7, in situations where the Latin Hebraicum version of the same manu-

script uses *psallere* instead of *canere* or *cantare* of the more common Hebraicum. This bizarre choice may point towards something that D. Markey believed to be an "expected translation", that is, the translation that the present-day linguist would expect instead of the translation copied in the *Eadwine Psalter*. But this may not necessarily point to the origin of Eadwine's Old French gloss in another source, as believed by D. Markey, from whence it could have copied into the *Eadwine*. The same Old French gloss

SOURCES:

For the references to *Eadwine Psalter*'s French, Old English, and three Latin, as well as for the gloss manuscript versions, see the f. 54v, 75v, 82r, 84v, 99v, 116r, 123r-v, 145r, 165r, 173v-174r, 195v, 243v, 254r, 258r, 261r, 262r.

Old English (ms.)

Ondettæþ drihtne on *eærþungum*
 7 on *psalterum* tyen strenga singæþ him
 Ic ingonge to wifode godes togode þe
 gebliissað giogode mine. Ic ændete ðe
 on *heærþæn* god god min
 Æstigæþ god onwinsumnesse dræme 7
 drihten on stefne *bimæn*
 Ic Onhilde to gelicnesse eære min icon-
 tine on *psaltere* foregesetenesse minre
 aris wuldor min aris *Saltere* 7 *hearperas*
 ic arise on morgem.
 Forecomon eældermæn togeþiedde
 singendum on midle gingra *gliewmedene*
plegiendra mid timpanan.
 7 ic ændette þe on fatum salmesængæ
 soðfestnesse þine ic singe þe on *heærþæn*
 god hæglic israhæle.
 Nimad sealn 7 sellað *swieg*
salter wynsum mid *hearpan*.
 Singoð on frumon monþum *byman* on
 dege fyr symbelnesse eowre.
 þet ic on tin strengum getogen hefde / hu
 ic ðe on *sælderio* singæn meæhte / oðð þe
 mid *heærþæn* hliste cwemæn...
 Singæþ gode ure on *heærþæn*
 on *heærþæn* 7 stefne *psalmæ*.
 on *hymæn* geleddon 7 stefne *byme* horn
 wynsumiaþ on gesihþe kynges.
 Aris wuldor min ærise *sæltære*
 7 *heærþæn* ic arise on morgem.
 On singendum on middæn his
 we hengen *swegas* ure.
 god sang niwne ic singe þe on *saltre* tien
 strengan ic singe þe.
 Onginnað dryhtene on andetnesse singað
 gode ure on *hearpan*.
 Hergæð nomæn his on þrete on *swege* 7
sæltære singæþ him.
 herigæð hine on swege *hymæn* hergæþ
 hine on *psæltære* 7 *herpe*.
 hergæð hine on *hylsongæ* 7 ðreæt
 hergæð hine on heortan 7 *orgænum*.
 hergæð hine on *cymbalum* welcwegendum
 hergæð hine on *cymbalum* wynsumnesse.

Hebraicum (ms.)

confitemini domino in *cythara*
 in *psalterio* decacordo cantate ei.
 Et introibo ad altare dei addeum laetitiae
 & exultationis meae. & confitebor tibi in
cythara deus deus meus.
 Ascendit deus iniubilo. *dominus* in uoce
buccine.
 Inclino adparabolam aurem meam.
 aperiam in *cythara* enigma meum.
 Expergiscere gloria mea. expergiscere
psalterium & *cithara* expergiscar mane.
 Precesserunt cantatores eos qui post
 tergum psalebant. IN medio puellarum
timpanistiarum.
 Ego autem confitebor tibi inuasis *psalterii*
 ueritatem tuam deus meus. psallam tibi in
cythara sancte israel.
 Assumite carmen. & date *tympanum*.
cytharam decoram cum *psalterio*.
 Clangite *buccina* IN neomenia. & in medio
 mense die sollempnitatis nostrae.
 Indecacordo & in *psalterio* cum cantico
 in *cythara*.
 Cantate domino in *cythara*. in *cythara* &
 uoce carminis.
 In *tubis* & clangore *buccine* iubilate
 coram rege nostro.
 Consurge *psalterium* & *cythara*.
 consurgam mane.
 Super salices in medio eius. suspendimus
cytharas nostras.
 Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi.
 in *psalterio* decachordo psallam tibi.
 Canite domino in confessione. psallit deo
 nostro in *cythara*.
 Laudent nomen eius in choro;
 in *tympano* & *cithara* cantent ei.
 Laudate eum in clangore *buccine*;
 laudate eum in *psalterio* & *cythara*.
 Laudate eum in *tympano* & choro;
 laudate eum in cordis & *organo*.
 Laudate eum in *cymbalis* sonantibus;
 laudate eum in *cymbalis* tinnientibus.

Old French (ms.)

Reghissez al seignur en *harpe*. en *saltier*
 de dis cordes chantez a lui.
 E ie enterrai al altel deu al deu de leece e
 de mun esioissement. e ie regehirai ateï
 en *harpe* miens deus.
 Muntat deus en chant. li sires en uoiz de
buisine.
 Ieo enclinerai a parole la meie oreille. ie
 aouerrai en *harpe* ma deuinaille
 Esbruce teilameie glorie. esbruce teiotu *saltier*
 e o tu *harpe*. ie me esbruceraï par matin.
 Deuant alerent li chanteur cels ki apres le
 dos uerseillouent en milliu des pulceles
timpanistres.
 Ie acertes regehirai ateï en uaisels de
salterii otu mes deus; ie chanterei ateï en
harpe saint disrael.
 Pernez ditie e dunez *tympane*. *harpe* bele
 od *saltier*.
 Cerned od *buisine* en la nuuelte de la lune.
 e en mi le meis iurn de nostre sollempnite.
 En diseincordei; et en *saltier*. en chant en
harpe.
 Chantez al seignur en *harpe*. en *harpe* e
 en uoiz de ditiet.
 En *buisines* e el suen de la *buisine*
 chantez deuant nostre rei.
 Esdrece tei *saltier* e *harpe*. ie mesdreceï
 par matin.
 Sur les salz enmiliu de li suspendimus
 noz *estrumentz*.
 deus nuuel chant chanterai a tei en
saltier diseincorde uersellerai ateï.
 Chanted al seignur en confessiun.
 chanted a nostre deu en la *harpe*.
 [no French translation for this psalm]
 [no French translation for this psalm]
 [no French translation for this psalm]
 [no French translation for this psalm]

Galt.

Roan.

Hebr.

etiam in nationibus increpati

ones in populis. Ad alligan-

dos reges eorum in compedi-

bus. & nobiles eorum in mani-

as ferreis. Ut faciant in eis

iudicium conscriptum. gla-

ria est omnibus sanctis eius

Iudicia conscripta a patribus
sanctum ista autem scripta sunt
& modo complentur. legebant aliqui
negligent. modo sunt. i. conchy
dit ita p omis qd. hoc agunt sci
sic glia. sic exultant in fau-
b; sicletant in cubilib; sic exul-
tante ingla. sic cantant cantic. n.
sic dnt alla. corde. ore. uita.

Laus ista e de ipsius nuptiis xpi & ecclie.
videns enim ppha ecclia i. scilicet iam deposita omni fragilita-
te xpo coniungi in eterna beatitudine. inuitat illos ad lau-
dandum dñi in omni genere musicorum instrumentorum
ut in nuptiis solet fieri. & supponit multas causas quare ille sit
pra qd ut sic scilicet exultare facit inglam ita presentem eccliam custodire dignetur ab huius scilicet delectationibus in pollutam. p.

laudandus quia dedit omnia eis in firmamento
quia morte sua diabolum uic & credentes ad glia p-
duxit. Quia ipse celestes nuptias. ps iste non est
diuisus p partes. quia de sola laude ag. Unde &
athoni. i. indissolubilis vocat v r.

Eccc quanta gla-
ria iudicium. paupes
qui erant derisui
iudicare in supbo;

on hydnissum
innationibus in
crepationes in po-
pulis. A d allig-
gandos reges
eorum in com-
pedibus. & no-
biles eorum in
vinculis ferreis.

ut faciant in
eis iudicium
conscriptum.
gloria hec est
omnibus san-
ctis eius.

ingentibus
increpatione
in populi-
bus. Ut alliges reges
eorum cache-
mis. & inclitos
eorum compe-
dibus ferreis.

ut faciant in
eis iudicium
scriptum. de-
cor est omni-
um sanctorum
eius.

Autor toti bone voluntatis
deus qui omni mansuetudine
te humiliter confitente exaltas.



reflects solid links to the Hebraicum text of its manuscript. The inversion of *neomenia* (Ps 80:4) is reflected in the choice of translation of the French text (*en la nuvelté de la lune*) from the Greek *νεομήνιος* ('of the new moon'), but it may also come from the marginal gloss of the Gallicanum. Another explanation would be that the scribes could have used an Old French model belonging to the manuscript tradition of the *Oxford Psalter*, whose versions also use the verb *chanter* in the same contexts (or maybe this translation choice was influenced by the presence of the verb 'to sing' in the corresponding Old English glosses).

The translation choices for the musical instruments are not surprising: *harpe* for *cithara*, *saltier* for *psalterium*, *buisine* for *buccina* or *tuba*, and *tympane* for *tympanum*, with no translations for *cymbalum* or *organum* because Ps 149-150 are absent from this translation.

As an exception among the Old French Psalters, under the influence of already established Old English tradition (for an analysis of this version and another one, see Hawk

2015), the *Eadwine Psalter* has a French translation for Ps 151, in a different layout, because there is only one Latin version copied after the Old Testament Canticles, in the additional section of the psalter (f. 281r-v). However, the second verse of this supernumerary psalm mentions the name of two instruments and one may notice that the translation choices have been preserved:

LATIN: Manus mee fecerunt **organum**; et digiti mei aptauerunt **psalterium**. OLD ENGLISH: Heondan mine warhten **organan**, ond fingras mine gearcaden **psalterium**. OLD FRENCH: Mes mains firent le **orgne**, e mi dei afaiterent le **saltier**.

◆ Fig. 4-9. Entire folio and details of f. 261v of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), preserving the second part of Ps 149 and the miniature illustrating the beginning of Ps 150. All musical instruments mentioned in the Psalter are represented herein. © Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.



Latin *cithara* as French *harpe* (VA)

This is an obvious choice of translation, because the harp was one of the most used musical instruments of those times, and often observed in the representations of King David. Moreover, this was not restricted to art. In the *Lumere as Lais* by Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham, a long 13th century poem (ca. 14.000 verses) translating a Latin theological treatise, the harp is dealt with extensively in connection with the same King David, therefore it must have been the word that the Old French authors had in mind when reading the ancient Greek-Latin word *cithara* in the psalms. See for instance the verses 6715-6718, right before the 44th chapter of Pierre's *Lumere*, verses dedicated to the tuning of this instrument as a metaphor for another type of 'tuning', of a religious sort (*Coment l'en deit temprer la harpe*):

La *harpe* Davi n'ama mie
Pur l'acord ki fu en l'armonie,
Dunt il ne pout pas pur sun *harper*
Saul en travaillant adaser...
(Hesketh 1996-2000, vol. 1, p. 201-202)

In a note to the verse 6727, the editor of this 13th century poem compares the harp of the first two centuries of French literature to the "guitar of the 1960s" (Hesketh 1996-2000, vol. 1, p. 203), that is, one of the most popular instruments of the Middle Ages, and believes that the author of this poem might have played such a harp himself, since he was perfectly able to make precise observations concerning its tuning and playing. The same may be said about the Old English translators of the same period (*vide supra* the *Eadwine Psalter*) who used the same word.

Since we mentioned this particular manuscript, it should be noted that the *Eadwine Psalter* provides us with even more clues concerning this particular translation choice. The use of the word *estrumentz* in the Ps 136:2 of this interlinear French version reflects one of the problems that the translators encountered. As this word is used only once, and in a particular context, while the word *harpe* is used in all the other contexts, it is safe to assume that this choice was determined by the precise nature of that context. A reasonable explanation would be that the translator could not imagine how these 'harps' (plural, and

probably perceived as triangular three-part frame instruments) could be hung on trees. He must have understood, for a moment, that the Latin original was speaking of another instrument than the one he had in mind and he consequently made a vague choice of translation, the 'instruments', mysterious and undefined as they were to him when reading the Hebraicum text. Another possible explanation for this translation choice may take into account the influence of the other two versions of the Psalter in the same manuscript (Romanum and Gallicanum, presenting the reading *organa* (cf. Markey 1989, p. 363-364, to be dealt with when discussing this other instrument).

As for *cithara* itself, the entry of this word in the French language is of a much later date. There is one curious use of *citerelle* in the *Bible d'Acre* (Gn 31:27 - *cur ignorante me fugere voluisti, nec indicare mihi, ut prosequer te cum gaudio, et canticis, et tympanis, et citharis?* translated as *Por quoy nel me deis? Si t'eusse conduit a grant joie en chantant et en sonant tabors et citerelles*; Nobel 2006, p. 34), but this 13th century etymologizing choice is singular. For instance, the translation of the verse Gn 4:21 (*Et nomen fratris eius Iubal: ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo*) is absent from the *Bible d'Acre*, even though this is the second mention of *cithara* in Genesis.

The word may have been used occasionally, since it had derivatives. In a Northern Anglo-Norman context, for instance, albeit in Latin, there is an occurrence of the word *chithariste* in a receipt of 1330 (*Chithariste d'ni Rob'ti de Hornecliff ex precepto Prioris* – see for this *Extracts* 1898-1901, vol. 2, p. 517). Later in the same century, the word appears on the Continent in the works of Nicole Oresme (cf. Meunier 1857, word 330 of the list of Oresme words at p. 161-205; or in Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, quoted by the DMF: *si comme est la cithare ou aucun autre tel instrument*). Even though there are many similar words in the French language since the 14th century (see for this *citole*, a musical instrument with chords – cf. the use of the word *cithole* as an interpretation for *cithara* in the Kerr manuscript, a rhymed variant of the Apocalypse, quoted further on), the word *cithara* itself does not appear before the first half of the 15th century. According to the

SOURCES:

For *cithara* in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 19, 31-32, 32, 70, 136. There are no mentions of *cithara* in Judges.

Cithara in the *Quatre livre des reis*

- 1 Sa 10:5 Post haec venies in collem Dei, ubi est statio Philisthinorum: et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem, obvium habebis gregem prophetarum descendendum de excelso, et ante eos *psalterium*, et *tympanum*, et tibiam, et *citharam*, ipsosque prophetantes.
- 1 Sa 16:16 Iubeat dominus noster, et servi tui qui coram te sunt quaerent hominem scientem psallere *cithara*, ut quando arripuerit te spiritus Domini malus, psallat manu sua, et levius feras.
- 1 Sa 16:23 Igitur quodcumque spiritus Domini malus arripiebat Saul, David tollebat *citharam*, et percutiebat manu sua, et refocillabatur Saul, et levius habebat: recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.
- 2 Sa 6:5 David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et *citharis* et *lyris* et *tympanis* et *sistris* et *cymbalis*.
- 1 Ki 10:12 Fecitque rex de lignis thyinis fulcra domus Domini et domus regiae, et *citharas* lyrasque cantoribus: non sunt allata huiusmodi ligna thyina, neque visa usque in praesentem diem.

Après vendras al munt Damnedeu u li Philistien unt lur estaciun. E quant enterras en la cite, encunteras les prophetes ki d'amunt vendrunt a estrumenz, *psalterie*, *tympanis*, frestels e *harpe*; si prophetizerunt.

Li mals esperiz nostre Seignur te travaille. S'il te plaist cumande, e nus querrums alcun ki *harper* sache, que quant li mals esperiz Deu t'envairad, chanté e harped, e de plus legierement sufferas la peine.

Li malignes esperiz le rei Saül plusurs feiz asaillid e traveillout, e David dunc devant le rei *harpout* e par tant li mals asuajout, kar li diables s'en turnout.

E David e tuz ces de Israel juerent devant nostre Seignur od multes manieres d'estrumenz, od *harpes* e lires e *tympanis* e frestels e *cymbals*.

De cel gentil mairén as pareiz del temple e a sun paleis fist li reis faire uns esforcemenz e fist en faire *harpes* e lyres e altres estrumenz; e puis n'i fud ported ne veüd si gentil mairén ki fust de tyn.

DEAF, quoting a late French vernacular version of the *Life of St Eustace*, this may be the first time when the word *cythare* is used in the French language (see the text at Petersen 1925, p. 217, verse 939: *harpes, psalterions, cythares, manicordions*). In general, French authors favour the translation choices already established during the previous centuries (i.e. ‘harp’). The assimilation of the Greek-Latin *cithara* with the harp is clear even later, in 1425-1430, when Jean Gerson glossed Latin *cithara* with French *harpe* (Fabre 2005, p. 129). This may be the effect of an earlier assimilation of *cithara* with the medieval harp. When the historical books (see the translation of 1-2 Sa and 1-2 Ki known as *Quatre livre des reis*) mention *cithara* and *lyra* in groups of instruments, 12th century French translators use a neologism for *lyra* (*lyre*), but do not hesitate to translate *cithara* with *harpe*. In fact, sometimes they do not even use the name of the instrument; they use a verb derived from it (*harper*, ‘to pluck the strings’), in order to translate the Latin *psallere citharam*.

Psalterium as (p)saltier (VA)

Despite its overwhelming presence in Old French literary texts, not much can be said about the ‘psaltery’. The instrument was well known to medieval men and its portative nature made it the evident choice of translation for the biblical instrument bearing the same name. Only the phonetic variants can be analyzed (*psalter*, *psaltier*, *psaultier*, *psautiers*, *saltier*, *saultier*, *sautaire*, *sauter*, *sauterie*, *sauterion*, *saltire*, *sauters*, *sautier*), but a review of these forms will not reach new conclusions, since they present similar phenomena to those noticed in other languages (see the treatment of the initial consonantic group in Old English: *saltere*, *psaltere*, but also *sealmleoð*). Moreover, it may force us to make a pointless distinction between homonyms: the musical instrument and the book of Psalms (i.e. the ‘Psalter’ itself).



► Fig. 10: Aulnay (France). Saint Peter church (12th century). Detail of the outer voussure of the main portal: ass playing the harp (or the psaltery). Credits: VA.

The French translations of *tuba* and *buc(c)ina* (VA)

Buisine seems to be the preferred choice of the translators when it comes to rendering the names of both instruments in vernacular. This is the generic name of the trumpet found in most 12th and 13th century Old French texts. Its origin is Latin (from the biblical *buccina*), but the word appears independently from Latin contexts (see for this the romance of Alexander by Thomas of Kent: *Le roy Alisandre fet ses gresles corner, / E timbres e tabors e buisines* soner; Foster, Short 1976-1977, vol. 1, p. 52). Variations are rare in the translations of these words. One such variation is the use of *bacinet* in the Anglo-Norman Judges, which acts as an exception even in the context of that particular translation.

There are also cases in which the word *buisine* appears even though it was not used in the original, simply because the latter referred to sounds of military nature (see for this 2 Ki 7:6 – *Siquidem Dominus sonitum audiri fecerat in castris*

Syriae, curruum, et equorum, et exercitus plurimi...; paraphrased as *Kar nostre Sires out fait oïr par cel ost de Syrie forment grant noise e tumulte si cume ço fust de curres e de chevaux e de buisines e de grant ost ki sur els venist*; Curtius 1911, p. 187). This means that *buisine* was the most common way of rendering any wind instrument. This is probably the reason why even the word *tuba* was frequently translated as *buisine*. The 12th century translations of Judges and *Quatre livre des reis* testify to this particular situation. And the 13th century Anglo-Norman *Douce Glossary* actually explains that both *tuba* and *buccina* should be translated by *buisine* (*hec tuba vel succina: bosine*, where *succina* is an error for *buccina*; Hunt 1991, p. 421). This is why an author such as Robert de Gretham (Robert the Chaplain), in his *Corset* poem (mid-13th century), thinks of the verses of the Apocalypse and uses *buisine* instead of a neologism derived from *tuba*, even though *tuba* is the only word used for ‘trumpet’ in the entire text of the Revelation (...set

Buccina in the *Bible d’Acre* (Exodus)

- Ex 19:13 ...cum coeperit clangere *buccina*, tunc ascendat in montem.
- Ex 19:16 Iamque advenerat tertius dies, et mane inclaruerat: et ecce coeperunt audiri tonitrua, ac micare fulgura, et nubes densissima operire montem, clangorque *buccinae* vehementius perstrepebat...
- Ex 19:19 Et sonitus *buccinae* paulatim crescebat in maius, et prolixius tendebatur...
- Ex 20:18 Cunctus autem populus videbat voces et lampades, et sonitum *buccinae*, montemque fumantem: et perterriti ac pavore concussi, steterunt procul,

Quant la *buisine* sonera, si voient vers le mont.

Quant vint au tiers jor et il fu cler matin, si comensa forment a toner et a espartir et nue forment espesse covri la montaigne et li sons de la *buisine* estoit forment oÿs.

...et li sons de la *buisine* creissoit petit et petit et mult estoit oÿ de loing.

Li pueples tot oÿ la vois et veoït les clartés com d’un lampier et le son de la *buisine* et la montaigne fumant, et avoyent grant paor et ce tenoyent de loins.

Buccina in the Anglo-Norman Judges

- Jg 3:27 Et statim insonuit *buccina* in monte Ephraim.
- Jg 6:34 Spiritus autem Domini induit Gedeon, qui clangens *buccina* convocavit domum Abiezer, ut sequeretur se.
- Jg 7:19 Ingressusque est Gedeon, et trecenti viri qui erant cum eo, in partem castrorum, incipientibus vigiliis noctis mediae: et custodibus suscitatis, coeperunt *buccinis* clangere, et complodere inter se lagenas.
- Jg 7:22 Et nihilominus insistebant trecenti viri *buccinis* personantes.

Si fu donc une *buisine* haut sonée au mont Effraym por la victoire que Aoth ot faite.

Nostre sire qui bien voit le mal et la destruction qu’il detenoient a son pueple, tramist son saint esprit en Gedeon, si l’empli de sa grace; et il prist lors un *bacinet*, si le sona viguerozement, si en semont tote la force de la maison Abiezer que li suist en cela faire...

Atant c’est emtus en l’ost et ces III^e compagnons entor hore de mie nuit ; les gardes yerent ja esveillies et si pristrent a sonner les *buisines* en haut ou merveilleos esfroy, si entrehuterent ces canes qu’il porterent en lor mains que totes les ont depecees.

...mais par ce ne laisserent les III^e lor enchaus et la noise des *buisines* qui aloient ades sonans.

Buccina in the *Quatre livre des reis*

- 1 Sa 13:3 ...Saul cecinit *buccina* in omni terra, dicens: ‘Audiant Hebraei’.
- 2 Sa 6:15 Et David et omnis domus Israel ducebant arcam testamenti Domini in iubilo, et in clangore *buccinae*.
- 2 Sa 15:10 Misit autem Absalom exploratores in universas tribus Israel, dicens: Statim ut audieritis clangorem *buccinae*, dicite: ‘Regnavit Absalom in Hebron’.
- 2 Sa 18:16 Cecinit autem Ioab *buccina*, et retinuit populum, ne persequeretur fugientem Israel...
- 2 Sa 20:1 Accidit quoque ut ibi esset vir Belial, nomine Seba, filius Bochri, vir Iemineus: et cecinit *buccina*, et ait...
- 1 Ki 1:34 Et ungat eum ibi Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta in regem super Israel: et canetis *buccina*, atque dicetis: ‘Vivat rex Salomon’.
- 1 Ki 1:39 Sumpsitque Sadoc sacerdos cornu olei de tabernaculo, et unxit Salomonem: et cecinerunt *buccina*, et dixit omnis populus: ‘Vivat rex Salomon’.

Lores cornad Saül une *buisine* par la terre e dist: ‘Ço voil que oïent li Hebreu’.

E David esteit vestudz de une vesture linge pur humilited. E tuit ensemble menerent l’arche od leesce e od chanz e sons de *buisine*.

E enveiad chalt pas ses messages par tutes les lignees de Israel, si lur mandad que si tost cume il oïssent la *buisine* suner que il criassent que Absalon regnerait en Ebron.

Lores sunad Joab une *buisine* e fist arester sa gent que il ne enchalchassent Israel ki s’enfueit.

Uns huem i fud lores ki esteit de mult maleit afaire, Siba, le fiz Bocri, del lignage Gemini. Cil sunad une *buisine* e fist le pople entendre a lui,...

Si l’enuined iloc li prestres Sadoc a rei sur Israel, si sunerez une *buisine* e direz: ‘Vived e salf seit li reis Salemun!’

E Sadoc prist un corn a ulie del tabernacle e enuinst a rei Salomon, e sunerent la *buisine*, e tuit li poples diseit: ‘Vive e salf seit li reis Salomon!’

aungeles vit / ke od lour **busoines** chanterent; Sinclair 1995, v. 1195).

Nevertheless, a series of rare uses of a neologism derived from the Latin *tuba* has also been documented and it explains the situation of the manuscript tradition of the *Oxford Psalter* (verse Ps 80:4 in particular). In a Franco-Italian *Life of St Catherine* dating back to mid-13th century, one finds the pair *tube* and *buisine*, but the context may be inspired by the sacred texts:

Par les terres, par les marines
Oïriez **tubes** e **boisines**
Tambur soner e cornaor
Corner aut e flaüteor
Faire son e le cri si grant,
Q'on n'i oïst pas Deu tonant.

(Breuer 1919, p. 218, vv. 533-538)

The situation does not differ from what one finds in some of the Old French translations of the *Apocalypse*. The Anglo-Norman *Revelacion* copied in the British Library ms. Royal 2 D xiii, edited by B. A. Pitts and dating back to the last third of the 13th century, a variant of the Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse* edited by P. Meyer, the word *tube* appears in the translation of Ap 10:7 as an etymological choice made by the versifier, who could not use *buisine* because of the meter. The second occurrence of *tube* in the

same text, in the translation of Ap 18:22, seems to have a similar purpose, in order to complete a rhyming couplet, because it is paired with *buisine* in a way which reminds of the *binôme synonymique*. The Copenhagen manuscript version edited by Paul Meyer maintains the same translation choices for these two verses, but has one other use of *tube* in the second part of Ap 8:6, probably for the same metrical purpose.

However, all of this is completely irrelevant to a translator-versifier such as William Giffard, a chaplain from Shaftesbury at the end of the 13th century, who manages to use the word *buisine* everywhere in his adaptation of the *Apocalypse*. As for the abridged rhymed version copied in the Kerr manuscript (today ms. New York, Pierpont Mor-

SOURCES:

For *buccina* in the *Bible d'Acre*'s Exodus (there are no mentions of *tuba* in Genesis and Exodus), see Nobel 2006, p. 93, 94, 95. For *buccina* in the Anglo-Norman translation of *Judges*, see Albon 1913, p. 14, 23-24, 27. The quotations are from the version of the Paris, BnF, n.acq. fr. 1404 manuscript only. For *tuba* in the same text, see Albon 1913, p. 25, 27. For the references of *buccina* in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 23, 71, 85-86, 92, 97, 112. For *tuba* in the same text, see Curtius 1911, p. 99, 112, 191-192, 197, 199. The two verses from 2 Chronicles quoted in the same context (probably a marginal note concerning the speech of King Abiam to Jeroboam in the Battle of Mount Zemaraim, included in the French paraphrase) are at Curtius 1911, p. 149.

Tuba in the Anglo-Norman Judges

Quant Gedeon ce oy, si prist de lor vitaille et autant de lor **cuisine**...

The same error appears in the Musée Condé manuscript version, but the version copied in the BnF fr. 4467 et l'Arsenal 5211 is correct ("lor vitaille et tant de(s) **buisines**").

...puis deviza les III^e en III parties, si dona a chascun par soy une **buisine** et une quane tote voidie, fors tant que lor luminaire fu au mileu est canes mises...

Quant **ma cuisine** orres soner, donc sonnes les vos esforcielement tout environ ces paveillons et cries a une vois: 'A Deu et a Gedeon'.

...donc prirent les tisons qui as canes avoient este, as mains senestres, et as destres lor **buisines** sonans chascun d'eaus estant en son luec entor cel ost de lor henemis, et criant lor enseigne en haut: 'L'espee de Deu et de Gedeon'.

Tuba in the Quatre livre des reis

Lores sunad Joab une **buisine** e li poples partid de la cited; e Joab returnad al rei en Jerusalem.

Adonias e tuit cil que il out envied oïrent la noise, e li cunvivies fud ja fait. E Joab, cum il oïd le sun de la **buisine**, enquist dunt levast li tumultz par la cited.

Com il ot ce dit, cascuns se hasta et de son mantel se desfula, et misent sous ses pies com il li vauissent faire siege et sonerent une **buisine**, et disent: 'Hieu regnera sor Israël'.

E vit le rei ester a l'estal real si cume ert usages, e les chanturs e les **buisines** entour lui e tut le pople de la terre esleeschant e **buisines** sunant.

E de cest avoir ne firent pas faire la vaissele ki cuvenait al temple, les channes, les crocs, les encensiers, les **buisines** ne nient d'altre vaissele d'or ne d'argent ki al servise apendeit.

Pur ço Deu est ducs de nostre ost e li dreiturier pruveire sunt od nus ki ja sunerunt les **buisines** encuntre vus.

Cume ço aperchut li reis Abia e cil de Juda que la bataille lur fud devant e deriere, la merci Deu requistrent e li pruveire sunerent les **buisines**.

Sumptis itaque pro numero cibariis et **tubis**,... Jg 7:8

Divisitque trecentos viros in tres partes, et dedit **tubas** in manibus eorum, lagenasque vacuas, ac lampades in medio lagenarum. Jg 7:16

Quando personuerit **tuba** in manu mea, vos quoque per castorum circuitum clangite, et conclamate: 'Domino et Gedeoni'. Jg 7:18

...tenuerunt sinistris manibus lampades, et dextris sonantes **tubas**, clamaveruntque: 'Gladius Domini et Gedeonis'. Jg 7:20

...Et ille cecinit **tuba**, et recesserunt ab urbe, unusquisque in tabernacula sua: Ioab autem reversus est Ierusalem ad regem. 2 Sa 20:22

Audivit autem Adonias, et omnes qui invitati fuerant ab eo: iamque convivium finitum erat: sed et Ioab, audita voce **tubae**, ait: 'Quid sibi vult clamor civitatis tumultuantis?' 1 Ki 1:41

Festinaverunt itaque, et unusquisque tollens pallium suum posuerunt sub pedibus eius in similitudinem tribunalis, et cecinerunt **tuba**, atque dixerunt: 'Regnavit Iehu'. 2 Ki 9:13

vidit regem stantem super tribunal iuxta morem, et cantores, et **tubas** prope eum, omnemque populum terrae laetantem, et canentem **tubis**... 2 Ki 11:14

Verumtamen non fiebant ex eadem pecunia hydriae templi Domini, et fuscinae, et thuribula, et **tubae**, et omne vas aureum et argenteum, de pecunia quae inferebatur in templum Domini. 2 Ki 12:13

Ergo in exercitu nostro dux Deus est, et sacerdotes eius, qui clangunt **tubis**, et resonant contra vos:... 2 Ch 13:12

Respiciensque Judas, vidit instare bellum ex adverso et post tergum, et clamavit ad Dominum, ac sacerdotes **tubis** canere coeperunt. 2 Ch 13:14

gan Library, 40, supposedly from the end of the 13th century, even though the manuscript is one century older), its versifier uses once (the first time) the word *buisine*, either because he read it in an Old French source text or because it came naturally to him if he were reading a Latin one, but he quickly switches to the more contemporary sounding words *trumpe* and *trumper*, that he uses everywhere else in his adaptation. One should not forget that this is the same author who used *cithole* as an interpretation of *cithara*, and so he was trying to update the readings of his text.

This may mean that the use of the word *tube* was probably restricted to an etymological context. It is of no surprise that we find it in the *Sibylle* attributed to Philippe de Thaon (mid-12th century), an early French author well known for his Latinisms. Little does it matter if this text was written by Philippe himself or by one of his imitators (who could

therefore imitate his Latinisms as well); the context is quite clear, because the Latin text is also provided:

De haut *tube* vendra,
Triste sun sonera ;
Et *tuba* tunc sonitum tristem demittet ab alto.

(Shields 1979, p. 88)

A similar context may be observed at a later date, this time under the influence of a different language, influenced by Latin in its own turn. Two Franco-Italian texts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries also present the word *tube*, clearly modelled upon *tuba*. In the *Estoire d'Atile en Ytaire* (History of Attila in Italy), the author uses *tube* in the same context as *bucine*, an etymological variant of *buisine* (*Or fist Atile soner ses estrument, ses tubes, cors et buccines*

Vulgate	Anglo-Norman <i>Apocalypse</i>	Anglo-Norman <i>Revelacion</i>
Ap 1:10 fui in spiritu in Dominica die, et audiui post me vocem magnam tamquam <i>tubae</i> ,	... a jur de dimeigne, / Après moi oy un voiz grant cum <i>buisine</i> ,	... A jur de dimeigne / Après moi oy un' voiz grant cum <i>buisine</i> ,
Ap 4:1 Post haec vidi: et ecce ostium apertum in caelo, et vox prima, quam audiui tamquam <i>tubae</i> loquentis mecum,...	Eprés ce vi tot en apert / En cel un us ke fu overt, / E la primere voiz ke jo oy / Cum <i>buisine</i> parleit ove moy:...	Aprés ce vi tot en apert / En cel un us ke fu overt. / E la primere voiz ke jo oy / Cum <i>buisine</i> parleit ove moy:...
Ap 8:2 Et vidi septem angelos stantes in conspectu Dei: et datae sunt illis septem <i>tubae</i> .	E jeo vi seth angles ki esturent / Devant Deu ke seth <i>tubes</i> hurent.	E jo vi .vii. angles que esturent / En award l'Angnel, que .vii. <i>tubes</i> urent.
Ap 8:6 Et septem angeli, qui habebant septem <i>tubas</i> , praeparaverunt se ut <i>tuba</i> canerent.	E les seth angles ke <i>business</i> hurent / Pur soner lur <i>tubes</i> tut prest furent.	E les angles que seeth <i>business</i> urent / A soner lur <i>business</i> se apparaillerent.
Ap 8:7 Et primus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit, et facta est grando, et ignis, mista in sanguine, et missum est in terram, ...	E li premer angle sa <i>buisine</i> ad soné: / Grisil e fu od sanc sunt medlé; / E pus en la terre li angle jetteit,...	E li primer angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit: / Gresil e fu ou sanc medlez esteit. / E pus en la terre l'em le geteit,...
Ap 8:8 Et secundus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et tamquam mons magnus igne ardens missus est in mare,...	E li secund angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / Une grant muntaine cum fu ardeit; / Après en la mer cel munt chaïet,...	E li secunde angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / E un' grant munteine cum fu ardoit: / En la mer est veïe,...
Ap 8:10 Et tertius angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et cecidit de caelo stella magna,...	E li teirz angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / E une grant estoille cum fu ardoit,...	E li terce angel sa <i>buisine</i> soneit: / Un' grant esteil' cum fu ardoit,...
Ap 8:12 Et quartus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et percussa est tertia pars solis,...	E li quart angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / E li terz del solail occurs esteit,...	E li quart angel sa <i>buisine</i> soneit: / E le terce del soleil feruz esteit,...
Ap 8:13 Et vidi, et audiui vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium caeli dicentis voce magna: Vae, vae, vae habitantibus in terra de ceteris vocibus trium angelorum, qui erant <i>tuba</i> canituri.	E jeo oy e vi un egle volant / Parmi le ciel, ke fu criant / En grosse voiz: 'Alas, alas! / A habitanz en terre, unkore alas! / Pur les treis angles ke sunt a venir, / Ke hunt lur <i>business</i> après sonir'.	E jo oi la voiz de .i. egle volant / Parmi les ceus, que ala disant / En grosse voiz: 'Alas, alas! / Habitanz en terre, le terce Alas! / Pur les .iii. angels que sont a vener, / Que out lur <i>business</i> prestes pur soner'.
Ap 9:1 Et quintus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et vidi stellam de caelo cecidisse in terram, et data est ei clavis putei abyssi.	E li quinte angle sona sa <i>buisine</i> , / E une estoille tint la clef de abime / E jeo le vi de ciel en terre chair.	E li quinte angel suna sa <i>buisine</i> : / E .i. esteile que tint la clef de abime / De cel en terre vi cheir.
Ap 9:13 Et sextus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et audiui vocem unam ex quatuor cornibus altaris aurei, quod est ante oculos Dei,	E li sime angle sona sa <i>buisine</i> , / E de quatre corns oy une voiz terrine / De l'auter d'or que est par devant / Les oils Deu,...	E li sime angel sona sa <i>buisine</i> : / E jo oy de quatre corns la voiz enterine / De l'auter de or que estoit pardevant / Les oiz Deu...
Ap 9:14 dicentem sexto angelo, qui habebat <i>tubam</i> : Solve quatuor angelos, qui alligati sunt in flumine magno Euphrate.	...que ala disant / Al sime angel que sa <i>buisine</i> out: 'Les .iiii. angels liez, deliez tost, / Que la grant fluvie de Eufates tenout'.	...que ala disant / Al sime angel que sa <i>buisine</i> out: 'Les .iiii. angels liez, deliez tost, / Que la grant fluvie de Eufates tenout'.
Ap 10:7 sed in diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum coeperit <i>tuba</i> canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei sicut evangelizavit per servos suos prophetas.	Més quant li setime angle <i>tubera</i> / La misterie de Deu dunc ert terminé / Si cum les prophetes hunt ewangelizé.	Mes quant li setime angel ad soné après / Sa <i>tube</i> , le misteris de Deu tut fet serront / E quanque ses serfs e prophetes ewangelicé out.
Ap 11:15 Et septimus angelus <i>tuba</i> cecinit: et factae sunt voces magnae in caelo dicentes: Factum est regnum huius mundi,...	E li setime angle sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / E une grant voiz del ciel diseit: / 'Le regne de ceo monde ore est fait,...	E li setime angel sa <i>buisine</i> soneit, / E un' grant voiz del cel disoit: / 'Le regne de ceo mund ore est fet,...
Ap 18:22 Et vox <i>citharoedorum</i> , et musicorum, et tibia canentium, et <i>tuba</i> non audietur in te amplius: et omnis artifex omnis artis non invenietur in te amplius: et vox molae non audietur in te amplius:	Jammés ultre trové ne serra, / Ne <i>harpe</i> ne musike la ne chantera; / Tibies ne <i>business</i> erent desornavant; / Voiz de <i>tubes</i> n'erent sonant, / Voiz de mole oy ne serra,...	Voiz de <i>harpurs</i> ne de musikes que chanterunt / En tibies e <i>business</i> desorenavant; / E voiz de <i>tube</i> ne ert oy atant, / E la voice de la mole oy ne ert. / De chescun ovrers lur art pert,...



de tote part; Bertolini 1976, p. 53). And in the Franco-Italian chanson de geste *Entrée d'Espagne*, *tube* is used next to *gal*, an Italianism for 'rooster' (*Demain a nuit, au premier gal chantant, / Senç soner graile, tube ni estrimant*; Thomas 1913, vol. 2, p. 4, v. 8059-8060). Inversely, *buisine* appears in all sorts of texts, including chronicles (Robert de Clari, Guillaume de Villehardouin).

◀ Fig. 11. Sainte-Foy abbey church (France), column capital of the tribune, late 11th century-early 12th century. Horn players.
Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Biay.

Giffard *Apocalypse*

E fu en esperit par un demeine / Deu ausi cume de *busine*,

Après cest vi joe e este vus / Enz en ciel overt un us! / E la voiz premere ke joe oi / Si come de *busine* parlant a mei...

E jo vi devaunt la face nostre Sire / Set aungeles tut en estaunt, / E l'em lur dona set *busines* graunt.

E li set aungele ke les busines aveient, / A soner lur *busines* se aparilleient.

E li premer aungele sa *busine* sona haut, / E est fet grezle e fu de saunc medlé mein-tenant, / E est envee en tute la terre,...

E li secund aungele suna sa *busine*, / E ausi come un grant munt se encline / Ardaunt de fu e est envé / Deske en la mer e tresbusché.

E li tierz aungele sa *busine* suna haut / E une grant esteille chain del ciel ardaunt...

E li quart aungele suna sa *busine*, / E la tierce par del solail e de la lune...

E joe vi e oi la voiz de un egle volaunt, / Par mi le ciel, e dist a sa voiz haute e graunt: / 'Gwai, gwai as habitaunz en terre / Ke a dreit ne volent lur salu quere!'

E li quint aungele suna sa *busine* clere, / E joe vi une esteille cheir de ciel en tere, / E li est dunee la clef del puz / De abisme...

E li siste aungeles suna sa *busine*, / E joe oi une voiz par vertu devine / Des quatre corners del auter de or / Ke est devaunt les euz nostre Seignor, / Ki dist als ist angele ke *busi-neit*: / 'Desliez les quatre angeles ore endreit / Ki sunt el grant fluive de Eufraten liez'.

Mes as jurs de la voiz del setime / Aungele, quant il sunera sa *busine*, / Serra le secré Deu achevez, / Si cum il a par ses prophetes prechez.

E le setime aungele suna sa *busine* haut, / E enzen ciel sunt unes voiz mut tresgrant / Ke diseient: 'Le regne de cest mund est...'

Ne voiz de *busine* n'i sera mes oie ne nule art, / Ne menestreus mes truvez cele par, / Ne voiz de moele n'i sera mes oie, / Ne lumere de launterne ne i lurra mes, ke le l'em die...

Kerr ms *Apocalypse*

Amoy, dit il, par .i. dimaingne, / Furent mous-trees par i ainge / .vii. *busines* en plusors...

Que saint Jans vit .i. uis oncier / Et la voiz oit d'une *trumppe*.

Lors vis .vii. ainges devant Dieu / A ques .vii. *trumpes* sunt livrées, / Par chascuns d'aux destribuees,...

Et li .vii. ainges a lour *trompes* / Se prirent a apareillier / Et de lour *trumpes* esveillier

Quant l'ainge premier ot ulé / Et fue et sanc et noy et combele. / En terre et albres fit mele...

Et quant l'ainge secont chanta / Un mont ardant en la mer chut

Li tiers ainges *trumpa* si fort / Que une estoile chut a fontaines / Amere comme uns alaines,...

Et quant prist a *trumper* le quart / Le tier du solet fut passi, / Lune et estoiles assi,...

Lors cria une aille volant / Pour les .iii. ainges qui demeurent / A ces qui en terre labourent: / Las, que ferez, chetif dolant?

Le quint ainge fist sa crie, / Lors vient une estoile dou cier / Le poiz d'abime debochier / Dont il issit si grant fumee...

Quant le sexeme (ainge) ot soné / La secunde doulour fut prate,...

...Quar dou fluive c'on dit Efrate / Quatre ainges sunt abandonné, / Pour le tier de gens a mort matre,...

Mas a cri de l'ainge septime / Le mistere yert consummé / Dont Deux par ses sers l'a summé / Par lour evangile meime.

Après prit le septimes ainges / A *trumper* et voiz sunt oyes / Ou ciel et cleres melodies / A Dieu et son fil, et loanges.

Adont ceaserunt ses *citholes* / Et ses chansons et ses musiques / Et se(s) *trumpes* et ses violes / Et ses ouvriers et mechaniques / Et muelles pour faire daintiers / Et nocés pour faire queroles,...

SOURCES:

For *tuba* in the Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse* edited by Paul Meyer (the Copenhagen ms version), see Meyer 1896, p. 188, 194-195, 214, 214-215, 215, 216, 217, 219, 222, 241-242. For a variant of the same text in the Anglo-Norman *Revelacion*, see Pitts 2010, p. 52, 58, 64, 65, 65-66, 66, 67, 68, 71, 84. For the same verses in the *Apocalypse* of William Giffard, see Rhys 1946, p. 3, 18, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 45-46, 49, 95. For the Kerr manuscript *Apocalypse* quotations, see Todd 1903, p. 541, 547, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556-557, 568.

The French translations of *organum* (VA)

There were not many options to translate the name of this instrument. Invariably, all translators had to use, just like in the case of *psalterium*, a Latinism. But the *realia* hidden behind this word are not always the same.

The word ‘organ’ (singular or plural) does not appear often in the text of the Bible. Apart from the two mentions in the book of Psalms, there is one mention in the Genesis, two in Job, one in Judith, another one in Wisdom and eleven in 1 and 2 Chronicles. This leaves us with very few terms of comparison for our two examples from the psalmic texts. The Genesis quotation has already been mentioned in the *citharra* French section of this dossier, and we noted that it was absent from the *Bible d’Acre*. The two verses from Job (Jb 21:12 and Jb 30:31) do not appear in the late 12th century Walloon fragments of *Moralium in Iob* (cf. Foerster 1876). There are no known French translations for the two books of Chronicles in our timeframe, except for the occasional marginal glosses integrated in the *Quatre livre des reis*, but they do not contain the verses that interest us here. As for Judith or Wisdom, translations of these books may exist, but they are from the close of the Middle Ages, therefore rendering all comparisons moot. There is however one situation in the *Quatre livre des reis* where the word ‘organ’ appears in a strange context:

E David sunout une maniere de *orgenes* ki esteient si aturne ke l’um les liout as espaldes celi kis sunout. E il si sailleit e juout devant nostre Seignur.

(Curtius 1911, p. 70-71)

We have already analysed the continuation of this text in the translations of the term *buccina*. There is no mention of an organ in the modern editions of the Vulgate (*Et David saltabat totis viribus ante Dominum...*; 2 Sa 6:14), but the sentence appears in some medieval biblical manuscripts and it is explained in the *Glossa ordinaria*:

Et David percutiebat in organis armigatis

IN *ORGANIS* ARMIGATIS. Id est armum ligatis dum manibus ferentis tanguntur. Aliud genus *organum* est quod cum aqua fit.

(*Glossa ordinaria*, online edition at <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr>, 2 Sa, Martin Morard edidit, Fabio Gibiino laborante, Isabelle Rava-Cordier cooperantibus, Parisiis, 2013-2016; future references use this edition too)

It is worth noting that the anonymous translator of 2 Sa adds ideas from the *Glossa ordinaria* explanation to its translation (*armum ligatis* > *ki esteient si aturne ke l’um les liout as espaldes*), in an effort to explain that this was not a common organ, but a portable one. It is difficult to presume what he made out of the rest of the *Glossa ordinaria* explanation, the one about the water organ.

The same meaning of ‘portative organ’ may be noted in Jean Brisebarre’s *Restor du Paon* (ca. 1330), where *orgues* (Carey 1966, p. 105, 200, 201; or *orgenes* in the P manuscript) appear next to harps and other instruments in a procession. The same goes for Jean de la Mote, author of a *Voie d’enfer et de paradis* (1340), who mentions the organ in a short list of musical instruments, but the context does not allow for a conclusion whether it was a portative or a positive organ.

Esbatemens, gieus, et reviaus,
Joustes, tournois en près flouris;
Prestres, canones, moines gris;
La ot vieles chalemiaus,
Orghes, trompes, flaios, frestiaus,
Tout gieus y fu, viés et novviaus;

Prendre y pooit on tous delits.

(Pety 1940, p. 65, v. 1503-1509)

Other uses of the word are more enigmatic, like the one from the third French translation of the *Elucidarium* (ca. 1200), where there is talk of *les chanz des angles e les dulz orgres des sainz* (Düwell 1974). Or in a Franco-Italian version of the *Secretum secretorum* (ca. 1300), where the context does not allow a proper identification of the instrument (*Convenable couse est a l’empereor avoir de ses privez feels en le qiels il se delite ou diner <ou> ses estrumenz ou generacions d’organes qant il est ennoious, por ce qe l’arme de l’home en tieus choses se delite naturalment*; Babbi 1984).

In a Picard translation of the *Life of St Brendan* (second half of the 13th century), there is talk of a big organ, probably a church one: *Com il fuissent assis a le table, dont vint li oysiaus devant dis et s’assist ou coron, et resonnoit de ses eles estendues, aussi que se che fust li sons d’une grant orgene* (Wahlund 1900, p. 53, 55). In the same timeframe, the romance *Blancandin et l’Orgueilleuse d’amour* (early 13th century), mentions such a church organ (*Les orgenes, li encenssier / Les iglises et li mostier*; Sweetser 1964, p. 264, v. 4175-4176), but again, one can never guess its size. The ambiguity of the term does not change a century later, in the *Life of St Agnes* by Nicole Bozon (first half of the 14th century), where one may find an organ (*Sa bele chambre est preste / Ou chant e orgyn ert a la feste / E la karole de virgines / Ke la serrunt mes veysines*; Klenke 1951, p. 95) in a context inspired by Ps 150:4. Again, one cannot imagine what was the type of organ that the author had in mind.

Maybe that the automatic rendering of this word through a Latinism in the first French translations of the psalms was due to a lack of explanation for Ps 136:2 in the *Glossa ordinaria*, where *organa* are glossed only as *scripturas et promissa Dei*, without any further explanation. The translators did not know what to make of it.

This may also have influenced the translation choice in the *Eadwine Psalter*, where the translator uses *estrumentz* instead of *harpes* when he translates *citharae*. He could have looked to the other two columns of the Romanum and Gallicanum, as implied by D. Markey (Markey 1989, p. 363-364) and could have been intrigued by that particular reading, different from the one he found in his own version. Another explanation (cf. Agrigoroaei 2016) would take into account the Old English translation of the word *organa* in the neighbouring Romanum version as *swegas* (‘sounds’ or ‘musical instruments’), a vague translation choice that reflects a common problem in both vernacular translations. This vague choice of translation characterizes other parts of the Old English gloss as well, especially that of Ps 149:3, where *tympano* was again translated as *swege* (cf. Ps 80:3, where it appears as *swieg*), even though in Ps 150:4 it was translated as *hylsongæ* (the latter being a hapax legomenon). One thing is clear, nevertheless. If the Old French gloss was influenced by the Old English one, this happened only in precise contexts (see for this the Old English translation for *tympanistrarum* as *gliewmedene pl-egiendra mid timpanan*, with no echo in the French text).

- Fig. 12. F. 281r of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), preserving the end of the Old Testament Canticles and the beginning of the supernumerary psalm (Ps 151). The latter’s initial miniature presents a portrayal of the organ in the 12th century. © Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.

The French translations of *tympanum* and *cymbalum* (VA)

Tympan(e), the preferred translation choice for *tympanum* in most of these old psalm vernacular renderings, is an evident Latinism. *Tymbre*, used only once in the Harley 273 rewriting and in the *Arundel Psalter* (Ps 80:3) is nevertheless used in a wide variety of texts (chansons de geste, romances of all sorts, didactic poems, glossaries, etc.), therefore being the current word for ‘tambourine’ in Old French. The three Old Testament adaptations presented in the lower part of this page are also divided in this aspect. The *Bible d’Acre* uses *ta(m)bour* in Genesis and Exodus, while the translations of Judges and *Quatre livre des reis*, both of them dating to the 12th century, prefer the Latinism *tympane*. The presence of *tympane* alongside *tymbre* in the *Arundel Psalter* may nonetheless allow us to consider that the Latinism was not necessary, that the translators could have used other words, and that their choice was dictated by their sociolect (cf. Agrigoroaei 2016).

But there is also another form of the word that does not appear in our translations of the psalms. When Adenet le Roi mentions in his *Cleomadès* (1285) a series of *cymbales*, *rotes*, *timpanons* (Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 512, v. 17289), the form that he uses is chosen for the sake of the rhyme (the couplet ends with *micanons*), and in a context that already contains several instruments mentioned in the psalms. When repeating the formula, Adenet le Roi uses the form used in the Anglo-Norman Psalters:

Harpes, rotes, giques, viöles,
leuus, *quitaires* et *citoles*,
et *tinpanes* et micanons,
rubebes et *salterions*.
(Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 223, v. 7249-7252)

We may therefore assume that this Latinism has a tendency of appearing in lists, where authors need to multiply the number of instruments in order to impress the readers (cf. Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 696, where the editor of the text is also wondering about the bookish nature of the inventory). But it also appears in a Franco-Italian rewriting of the *Song of Roland* (ca. 1300): *De soe cervelle se va lo tempan ronpant. / Del corno che l’sona è la vox e molt grant*,... (Gasca Queirazza 1955, p. 98, v. 1874-1875). And there is

also an exception. In his *Ave Maria in roumans*, Huon le Roi de Cambrai (second half of the 13th century) does speak of *En viele, en tympane, en cor / Et en tous estrumens encor* (Långfors 1913, p. 21, v. 157-158) in another list, but without mentioning other psalmic musical instruments. This means that the word became part of the current language. Only its old derivatives were lost.

The *tympanistes* from the old translations of Ps 67:26 did not enjoy much posterity in the French language, contrary to its Middle English avatar (see the ‘Middle English section’). In texts other than the later copies of the 12th century translations, the tambourine-player is referred to as *tympanur*. Such is the case of the early 13th century *Gui de Warevic* chanson de geste:

Bons *arpeurs* e vielurs,
Roturs, gigurs e *tympanurs*
De totes maneres i out juleurs,...
(Ewert 1932-1933, vol. 2, p. 25, vv. 7543-7545)

Or in the *Joies Nostre Dame* by Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie (first half of the 13th century), where the feminine form of this noun describes Virgin Mary:

...Nostre amie, nostre avocate,
Nostre dolce *tympaneresse*,
Nostre amiable preieresse,...
(Reinsch 1879, p. 223, v. 1004-1006)

This goes to show that the innate way of creating agent names in the French language prevailed to the detriment of the old (and infrequent) Latinisms. The word *tympanistre* is limited to the *Oxford Psalter* group and to its curious appea-

SOURCES:

For *tympanum* in Gn and Ex of the *Bible d’Acre*, see Nobel 2006, p. 34, 86. For the same in the Anglo-Norman Judges, see Albon 1913, p. 46. For the same in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 19, 36, 70.

Tympanum in the *Bible d’Acre* (Gn, Ex), Anglo-Norman Judges, and *Quatre livre des reis*

Gn 31:27 cur ignorante me fugere voluisti, nec indicare mihi, ut prosequer te cum gaudio, et canticis, et *tympanis*, et *citharis*?

Ex 15:20 Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, *tympanum* in manu sua: egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum *tympanis* et choris,

Jg 11:34 Revertente autem Iephte in Maspha domum suam, occurrit ei unigenita filia sua cum *tympanis* et choris:...

1 Sa 10:5 Post haec venies in collem Dei, ubi est statio Philistinorum: et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem, obvium habebis gregem prophetarum descendendum de excelso, et ante eos *psalterium*, et *tympanum*, et tibiam, et *citharam*, ipsosque prophetantes.

1 Sa 18:6 Porro cum reverteretur percusso Philisthaeo David, egressae sunt mulieres de universis urbibus Israel, cantantes, chorosque ducentes in occursum Saul regis, in *tympanis* laetitiae, et in sistris.

2 Sa 6:5 David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et *citharis* et lyris et *tympanis* et sistris et *cymbalis*.

Por quoy nel me deis? Si t’eusse conduit a grant joie en chantant et en sonant *tabors* et *citerelles*.

Après cest chant et ces graces prist Marie, la suer Aaron, un *tambor* en sa main et mult de femes aloient après li o *tambors* e caroles.

A cele hore que Gepte fu repaires de la bataille et vot entrer en Maspha en sa maison, corut sa fille rencontre lui, ainz que nule autre creature, por sa revenue esjoir o *corns* et *tympanes*.

Après vendras al munt Damnedeu u li Philistien unt lur estacian. E quant enterras en la cite, encunteras les prophetes ki d’amunt vendrunt a estrumenz, *psalterie*, *tympan*, frestels e *harpe*; si prophetizerunt.

Cume David repeirad apres la bele victorie que Deu li dunad e a Jerusalem le chief Goliath portad, les femmes e les meschines vindrent encuntre le rei Saül od *tympan*, od frestels charolantes e juantes e chantantes que Saül out ocis mil e David dis milie.

E David e tuz ces de Israel juerent devant nostre Seignur od multes manieres d’estrumentz, od *harpes* e lires e *tympan* e frestels e *cymbals*.

rance in the *Eadwine Psalter* French gloss (more proof that these two independent translations may be linked in one way or another). As for *tympanur*, it belongs to a group of agent names that includes other derivations from the names of biblical instruments (*vide infra* Angier's *cymbeour*). However, it is high time we speak about *cymbalum*.

Apart from *cymble*, the two other possible translations of this other word in Old French are *tympane* and *timbles*, as testified by the *Arundel Psalter*, and *cloche*, as one reads in the Harley 273 rewriting of the *Oxford Psalter*. The first two terms are probably the result of scribal errors (*tympane* is a clear scribal error, while *timble* seems to be a confused alliance between *tymbre* and *cymble*). As for the last translation choice, 'bells', is the result of a 14th century Anglophone's aggressive rewriting of the old translation.

The earliest Old French mention of this word may be found in Raschi's glosses to the Talmud, at the end of the 11th century, where 'cymbals' are glossed as *cenbes* (Darmesteter, Blondheim 1929, p. 20). This is very similar to the *cymbes* of the *First French Psalm Commentary*. In the somewhat later glosses of Joseph ben Simeon Kara, one finds an even closer phonetic rendering of the word: *cinbes* (Perani, Fudeman 2005, p. 422, and note 125 of p. 417). It seems to be the same word as *cimbe* used two times in the translation of St Gregory's *Dialogues* by Angier (ca. 1212):

...un juleour mendis
qui un singes savant a lot,
od unes *cinbes* qu'il sonot,
[...]
e cist dolenz juglieres las
od son singe sa *cimbe* sone!
(Orengo 2013, p. 107, v. 2466-2468, 2476-2477).

Angier also uses the word *cymbeour*, 'player of cymbals' (*Comment Boneface avantdist la mort de cymbeour*) in order to translate the term *cimbalarium* from a Latin title (*Quomodo Bonefatus moriturum predixit cimbalarium*; Orengo 2013, p. 106), but this hapax was of course created on the spot and was not used by other authors.

It should also be pointed out that in the anonymous *Geste de Blancheflour et de Florence* or *Jugement d'amour* copied in late 13th and 14th century manuscripts, one may find the word *chimbres* (*Cheverie, tube, estume e chimbres*; Oulmont 1911, p. 168, v. 29). The same form of the word appears in the Franco-Italian chronicle of Martin da Canal (ca. 1275), where it is used in connection with a phonetic variant of the word *trumpe* ('trumpet'):

Et après vient la clergie, trestos vestus de pluvials et de samit a or, et les *tronbes* et les *chinbes*; et vient un clerc en la rote apareillés de dras de dame, trestuit a or.
(Limentani 1972, p. 254).

But Martin da Canal also uses a hapax legomenon verb created according to the pattern used for the creation of the denominative verb *tromber* from *tronbe*:

Et après iaus s'en vont .vj. *tronbeors*, qui *tronbent* es *tronbes* d'arjent, et ij. homes aveduc iaus. que vont *chinbant* avec *chinbes* d'arjent.
(Limentani 1972, p. 246).

There are also forms of our word that present a liquid consonant, just like what one finds in the *Oxford Psalter* group (*cymble*). The DEAF online version mentions one such occurrence in some of the French *Bibles moralisées* (even though I could not identify it). Nevertheless, these forms are rare and

can be interpreted as etymological attractions corresponding to the words used in the Latin sources of these texts, were it not for a text that presents both forms at the same time.

Both forms appear in the two different versions of the *Anglo-Norman Poem about the Old Testament* (early 13th century) edited by P. Nobel, in a passage where the anonymous versifier speaks of the arrival of the Arch of the Covenant in Jerusalem:

ms. E (London, British Library, Egerton 2710)
Il portent *harpes*, giges e *timpanz*,
Salteries, cores e *cimbles* ben sonanz,
De totes maneres qu'il orent d'estrumenz.

ms. B (Paris, BnF, fr. 902)
Il portent *harpes*, giges e *tympanz*,
Salteriez e chores e *cimbres* ben sonanz,
Od tute les maneres qu'il unt d'estrumenz.

(Nobel 1996, vol. 2, p. 504/505, v. 9599-9601)

This means, on the one hand, that both forms of the word were used in current speaking and writing, and that the presence or absence of the liquid consonant did not necessarily characterize a certain dialect or sociolect. On the other hand, the almost automatic choice of rhyme for the word *timpanz* (*cimb(l)es ben sonanz*) testifies to the immense influence of the psalm translations (cf. Ps 150:5) on the creation of a medieval French literary language. It is of no surprise that the Anglo-Norman adaptation of the so-called *Quatre livre des reis uses* a Latinism, *cymbals*, in order to translate the only occurrence of this word in 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings.

▼ Fig. 13. St. Peter cathedral in Poitiers (France), modillion of the nave, late 12th century. Musician playing a tambourine. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Avril.



Concluding remarks for the French tradition (VA)

It is difficult to differentiate whether the mention of these instruments in later texts refers to genuine instruments, played in those times, or to cultural reflexes in the language of late authors, sometimes inspired by the psalms. Such is the case of the already quoted *Geste de Blanchefleur et de Florence* or *Jugement d'amour*. This time, it is worth presenting its catalogue of instruments in full, since it contains several mentions of our psalmic instruments, including a curious use of the word *tube* alongside the word *buisine*:

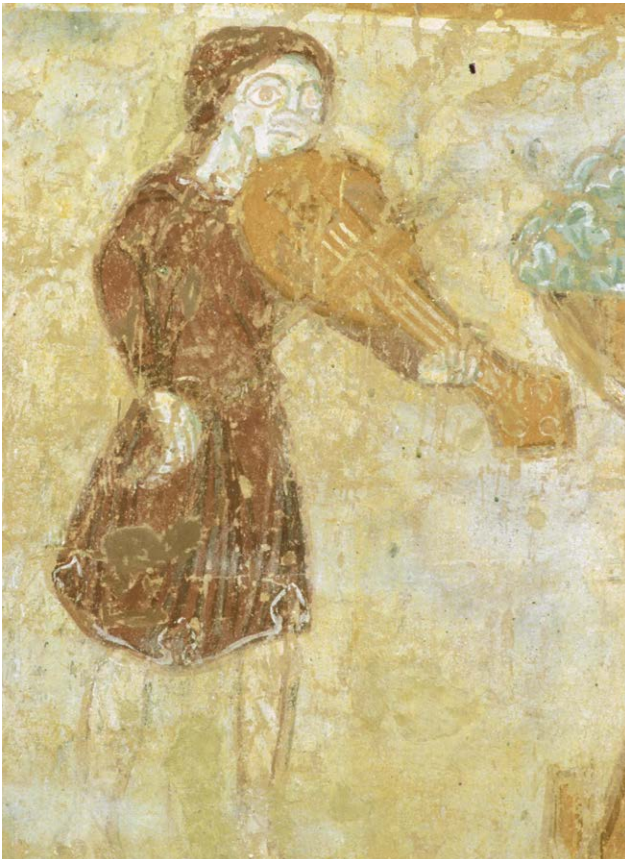
...Citole i ot e viele,
E synphan, q'amour novele,
Qe doucement i font menee;

Tabours, trompe e la ffeüte
Flour de lice, gitere e dewte
Q'au delit furent sonee,
Rubibe, qoor e sautrie,
Harpe, tymbre tot autresie,
Of le chaunceon corounee,

Chaunte corne en armonie
De douz motette e balerie
De sautour e jugelour,
Tympan, orgues e busines,
Cheverie, tube, estume e chimbes
Fasoient notes de grant douceour.

Corne sarzenois e clarion,
Gyge, estru of le douz soun
Furent sonee tot entour.

(Oulmont 1911, p. 167-168, v. 16-33)



The editor of this text (Oulmont 1911, p. 168, note 20) believed that *gitere* was a type of guitar, but the presence of almost all the psalmic musical instruments points to a bookish context, in which the anonymous author simply may have taken his inspiration for some of the instruments from the psalms (*sautrie* for *psalterium*; *tube* for *tuba*; etc.). It is thus possible that *gitere* may not necessarily be a guitar, but more of a *cithara*, since the text also speaks of *citole*. But at the same time, in Guillaume de Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie*, written shortly after 1369, we find a similar list of musical instruments, including a certain *guiterne* that strikingly resembles the previous century's *gitere*:

Orgues, vielles, micanons,
Rubebes et psalterions,
Leüs, moraches et guiternes,
Dont on joue par ces tavernes,
Cymbales, citoles, naquaires,
Et de flaios plus que x. paires,
C'est a dire de xx. manieres,
Tant de fortes com des legieres,
Cors sarrasinois & doussainnes,
Tabours, flaüstes traverseinnes,
Demi doussainnes et flaüstes,
Dont droit joues quant tu flaüstes,
Trompes, buisines et trompettes,
Guigues, rotes, harpes, chevrettes,
Cornemuses et chalemelles,
Muses d'Aussay, riches et belles,
Et les fretiaus et monocorde,
Qui a tous instruments s'acorde,
Muse de blé, qu'on prent en terre
Trepie, l'eschauquier d'Engleterre,
Chifonie, falios de saus.

(Mas Latrie 1877, p. 35-36, v. 1148-1168)

Such lists of instruments are quite common in Old French poems. Adenet le Roi, whom I have already quoted, mentions a similar list in his *Cleomadès* (1285):

Se vous a ce point la fussiez,
plenté d'estrumenz oÿssiez,
vïeles et sauterions,
harpes e gïgues et canons,
leüs, rubebes et kitaires;
et ot en pluseurs lieux nacaires
qui mout tres grant noise faisoient,
mais fors des routes mis estoient;
cymbales, rotes, timpanons,
et mandoires, et micanons
i ot, et cornés et douçaines,
et trompes et grosses araines ;
cors sarrasinois et tabours
i avoit mout en lieux plusours.

(Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 511-512, v. 17281-17294)

This means that the words mentioned in the French translations of the psalms represent generic names of instruments that do not necessarily need to be identified among medieval *realia*. As for the case of the very first translations (*Oxford Psalter*, *Eadwine Psalter*, etc.), their peculiar etymological readings for some instruments testify to their slavishly dependence on the Latin source.



◄ Fig. 14. Lugaut church (France), mural painting, first half of the 13th century. Musician playing a vielle. Credits: Photothèque du CESC / Durand.

◆ Fig. 15-16. Surgères (France). Notre Dame church, 12th century façade. Minstrels and monsters playing chordophones. Credits: VA.



Addendum: *carole* (CCA)

The translation choice for *chorus* in the *Oxford Psalter* tradition is particularly interesting. Current research holds that the French term *carole* refers to a type of dance choreographed as a group, a closed circle, mixed or unmixed, in which the performers hold hands (Mullally 2011, chapters 2 and 3). Despite R. Mullally's elaborate argumentation, the term remains ambiguous. For instance, it is occasionally juxtaposed with the term 'dance' or its derivatives, as in *Erec and Enide's puceles querolent et dansent* or in the *Chevalier de la Charrette's chantent, querolent et dansent* (see Mullally 2011, p. 29). It is also attached to other types of dances. Thus, the term *carole* could refer to a type of dance, but could

also to distinguish itself from the dance. The term 'dance' has a generic value in the two quotations. In other words, *carole* would be a dance in the absence of instruments.

Carole was also compared to the rondet / rondeau / rondel, a type of chorus song of fixed form. Beaudoin de Condé, in a rondet of *Li prisons d'Amours* (cf. Mullally 2011, p. 64) presents his song as a *chanson de carole* (*Ceste prizons dont ci parolle/ Iceste cançon de carolle/ C'est la prizons d'amors sans doute*; Mullally p. 65). As for the use of instruments to accompany the *carole*, the late example of Froissart's *Prison amoureuse* (Mullally 2011, p. 57–58) clearly distinguishes *estampie*, which is a dance accompanied by instruments, from the *carole*, as the latter would be choreographed but unaccompanied. Once again, *carole* would be a type of dance without instrumental accompaniment.

Some examples directly or indirectly connect the *carole* to the motet. For example, in the *Ars d'Amours: Et pour ce dient elles en leurs chançons et en leurs karoles ce motet* (Mullally 2011, p. 65). This connection between the motet and the *carole* does not seem to be incidental here. Indeed, the motet and the rondeau – which would be the song accompanying the carole – are indeed quoted together sometimes. The two lyrical genres (in the vernacular) are the first to have been noted polyphonically in manuscripts, in a mensural notation (see the quote from the *Leys d'amors* below). The motet is a polytextual genre though, unlike the rondeau which has only one text. Jean de Grouchy, in his *De Musica* (ca. 1300), compares the two genres: given its polytextuality, therefore its complexity, the motet would not intended for commoners; unlike the rondel, more appropriate for popular festivities. Like Froissart, quoted above, Jean de Grouchy equally distinguishes, the carole from the estampie. The analogy between motet and rondeau appears also in the mid-14th century *Leys d'Amors: Enpero huey ne uza hom mal en nostre temps daquest so. quar li chantrre que huey son. no sabon apenar endevenir en un propri so de dansa. E quar noy podon endevenir. han mudat lo so de dansa en so de redondel am lors minimas et am lors semibreus de lors motetz* ("But this song is not well performed nowadays, as the singers of our days do not succeed in providing the dance with its proper singing; and being unable to do so, they changed this song to that of the rondeau, with the minims and semi-breves of their motets").

Let us also add that the rondeau was first noted in the form of anonymous lyric insertions in narrative texts, and in a single voice when it includes a noted melody. The motets appear directly in vernacular and / or Latin already structured collections, with their (scholarly) polytextual and polyphonic form, for example in the French manuscript 844 of the BnF in Paris (ca. 1250), where about forty motets are noted alongside French songs. Adam de la Halle is the first known author of polyphonic rondeaux and motets.

I would therefore add something new to Mullally's definition of the carole. It could be related to a particular type of dance performed by all social classes, in a circle and a capella, with a rondet / rondel / rondeau song, but it could also belong to a polyphonic genre since its very beginnings (with an improvised polyphony). The rhythm of the song would be carried by that of the dance steps (and not the opposite, as it would be the case in the Occitan dances (see the quote from the *Leys d'Amors*). The term *carole* could designate both the dance and song (of the rondeau), and not only a type of dance accompanied by a rondeau song.

▼ Fig. 17: Details of the miniature of f. 261v in the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), illustrating the beginning of Ps 150. Representation of chorus, unrelated to the French translation choice (inspired by the corresponding miniatur in the *Utrecht Psalter*, ms Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32). © Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.



Pierre de Paris' French adaptation (VA)

The manuscript of Paris, BnF, fr. 1761, dating back to the 14th century (cf. Brayer, Bouly de Lesdain 1967-1968, who speak of the 13th century), contains a translation of the Psalter made by Pierre de Paris in Cyprus. The structure of the text is rather simple. It does not contain the usual prayers copied at the end of the psalters, but it has a translation of the psalms, followed by the Old Testament canticles and the Athanasian Creed. Added to this is a penitential treaty, therefore pointing toward a private use of the manuscript.

Awaiting the publication of the critical edition of this text, currently prepared by A.-M. Babbi, I have transcribed the quotations as they appear in the manuscript. Most of Pierre's translation choices are identical to those already discussed for the earlier French translations: *harpe*, *sautier*, *boussigne* / *bouzigne*. Ps 80:3 nevertheless shows two innovations (*tanbor*, *sauterion*) next to an already stable choice (*harpe*). *Tanbor* is repeated in Ps 150:4 (*tambour*), meaning that this word belonged to the category *realia*, since it was already used to translate *tympanum* in the *Bible d'Acre*. *Sauterion*, on the other hand, looks like a word belonging to a high prestige variety of language, and there are occurrences of it in several contemporary texts (see DEAF, s.v.).

There are several odd absences as well. They are evident in Ps 42:4, Ps 67:26, Ps 70:22, Ps 107:3, Ps 146:7, Ps 149:3, and Ps 150:5. The translation-adaptation of Ps 42:4 offers some evidence concerning these absences. Except for the first phrase (*E ie entenderais...*), the remainder of the quotation has no connection with the text of the psalms. The second phrase (*Qui est invisible...*) is taken from *Glossa ordinaria* or a text related to it (*ad illud invisible quo non accedit iniustus*), but even these glosses are incomplete, as our translator-adaptor does not follow the exegesis to the end (*...qui vero accedit sumitur in holocaustum divino igne totus incensus*). Instead, he seems to take words from the rest of the commentary and rewrite them (*Cest autier est celluy dieu qui el leessee ma sainteté*). The origin of the word *sainteté* is enigmatic. It could come from an interlinear gloss, or it could be a bad synthesis for the rest of the *Glossa* text (*de letitia finali pro qua laudat in tribulatione qui supra tristis erat unde et se confortat*). Pierre stopped here and did not paraphrase the remainder of the quotation where *cithara* is mentioned, either because he felt that he spent enough time on this verse, or because the rest was absent from his source.

The first option is of course preferable. We see it in Ps 150:5, after many other signs of fatigue, where Pierre wanted to put an end to his work, did not gloss much, maybe did not want to complicate his text with a mention of the cymbals, and simply referred to 'all instruments'. However, his source could be a different type of gloss from *Glossa Ordinaria*, of a yet unidentified redaction.

This is evident in Ps 146:7, where Pierre's translation follows the Latin text in the first part of the psalm verse, but switches to other ideas, which could not have been taken from *Glossa* (cf. *te prius accusa inde Deum lauda / post confessionem sequantur opera / ubi manus vocem sequitur ita vocem laudis sequantur opera*). I cannot of course exclude the possibility that he may have inserted the *veraye leesse* sequence *sua sponte*.

Pierre de Paris had a completely different interest from the previous translators of the Psalter. He produced a glossed version of the Book of Psalms with the intention of explaining the sacred text to a general public. He did not translate; he adapted the source text, which explains the absence or incomplete nature of many verses.

ms. BnF, fr. 1761 (ms.)

- Ps 32:2 Adonques confesses uous aueignor enla*harpe* & chantes enlui enle *sautier* des .x. cordes car laparole douseignor est droituriere.
- Ps 42:4 E ie entenderais a celui autier dedieu. Qui est inuisible auquel nul follon nenna. Cest autier est celluy dieu qui el leessee masaintete.
- Ps 46:6 E pource que dieu amonte toute leessee & que il est ueray seignor amonte enlauois delaboussigne de son fill.
- Ps 48:5 Ie enclineray enmaparolle maoreille. E ie demosterais par fait maproponssion. En lesautier pour coy douterais...
- Ps 56:9 E o tu machar quies magloire lieuesus de mort. E otu *sautier* lieue sus. Eotu ma *harpe* lieue toi le bien matin leiour delaresurrection.
- Ps 67:26 Les princes congains ensemble seuindrent deuant les esioyans en lemy des iouuenselles esioyant.
- Ps 70:22 E ie sire dieu meconforterays atoy. E anonssierais ta uerite a tous en les uayssiaus del saumes. Eiechanteray atoy enla*harpe* que lesaint deisrael est resuscites demort.
- Ps 80:3 Prenes lasaume & sougnes letanbor. E le *sauterion*. Eiues aueuc la*harpe*.
- Ps 80:4 Boussignes enlaboussigne delanouuelle lune. Ennoble iour deuostre sollempnite.
- Ps 91:4 Dont chascun sedoit loier enlesautier de .x. cordes. Een la*harpe* otoute leessee.
- Ps 97:5 Esioyssiez uos aueignor enla*harpe*. Eenla uois desaueme...
- Ps 97:6 ...&enles bouzignes magnables. Eenlauois delabouzigne faite de corne. Esioyssiez uos enle regart dou Roy.
- Ps 107:3 E tu toute ma bouche. Etu toute mapassiance leues sus alloyer dieu monpere E ie sonfis meleuerais le matin de mort & te loerais.
- Ps 136:2 Nos pendimes enle saus qui estoient sur les fluns nos escritures ou estoient contenues les proumesses dedieu.
- Ps 143:9 Sire dieu iete chanteray chant nouuel. Eiete chanterays enle *sautier* de .x. cordes.
- Ps 146:7 Chantes aueignor enconfession & uous esioyssies auostre seignor en toute ueraye leessee
- Ps 149:3 Elles loyerent son non entoute acordance. Esse esioyrent aueignor Een operassyon temporelle. Een operassyon spirituelle.
- Ps 150:3 Loes le enleson dellaboussine loes le enlesautier & enla*harpe*.
- Ps 150:4 Loes le enle *tambour* & entoutes uos assemblees. Loes le entous les estrumens decordes Een les *orguenes*
- Ps 150:5 Loes le entous les estrumens bien sounans. Eentous les estrumens delleessee.

SOURCE:

See the manuscript, f. 43v-44r, 60r, 64v, 66r, 75v, 85v, 89v, 102r, 102r-v, 112v-113r, 117v, 129r, 157v, 163v, 168r, 168v.

Some translations from Italy (VA)

There are not one, but three versions of the *Tuscan Psalter* (*Salterio toscano*), preserved in 17 manuscripts (see for this Ramello 1997). S. Berger was convinced that the French *Bible du XIII^e siècle* was the source of the 14th century Tuscan Psalter and of other Italian translations of the Bible (Berger 1894). E. Barbieri studied the printed Bibles of the 15th and 16th centuries and tried to prove otherwise, but his analysis is too speculative (cf. Leonardi 1993, p. 841).

A. Cornagliotti proved that Berger's hypothesis had to be rejected (Cornagliotti 1979), but the sources of the Italian translations of the Psalter are not clear yet. Furthermore, there are only two verses of interest for us in the fragmentary *Salterio toscano*:

Ps 80:3 Prendete i salmi e 'l **salterio** co• la **cetera**.

Ps 80:4 Allegratevi con canto sonante della novella luna,
non dimenticati li giorni dela nostra sollempnitade.

(Ramello 1997, p. 154).

Apart from the simple assumption that the translation is etymological, no other conclusion can be drawn, since the second verse does not even mention the name of the musical instrument. There is an interesting reading **ribecha** ('rebec', from the family of the violin) in a 15th century manuscript from Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, II.IV.70, and this translation choice is followed by the adverb *giocondamente* (cf. Ramello 1997, p. 196), therefore being an interpretation of the *psalterium iocundum* (Gallicanum and Romanum) and not *citharam decoram* (Hebraicum). In the next verse, the

same manuscript has another reading non-existent in other copies of the *Tuscan Psalter*: *di **tronba** nelcominciamento* (cf. Ramello 1997, p. 196), where the presence of the second word may indicate the translation of Romanum's *initio mensis* instead of *neomenia* from Gallicanum and Hebraicum. Since these are isolated readings, unidentifiable in other manuscripts, they must have been written only by the 15th century scribe. In such a case, the choice of translation **tronba** (identical to the Franco-Italian **tronbe** already mentioned in the French section of this study; and similar to the French **trumpe** used by late French authors) derives perhaps from the Latin reading **tuba** (Romanum). This addition to the Tuscan Psalter translation probably comes from this particular scribe's use of a Latin text for corrections or from his liturgical recollections.

The *Venetian Psalter* (*Salterio veneto*), on the other hand, unrelated to the Tuscan one, was preserved in two manuscripts only, but contains a complete text of the Psalms. In

SOURCES:

For the *Salterio veneto*, see Ramello 1997, p. 236, 249, 253, 255, 263, 273, 278, 291, 303, 308, 323, 350, 356, 359, 361, 362. For the *Marlemi Bible* Psalms, see any of its incunabula, vol. 3, p. 155, 166, 170, 171, 179, 187, 191, 203, 214, 219, 231, 256, 262, 264, 266.

▼ Fig. 18: Treviso (Italy). Detached fresco preserved in the sacristy of the Saint Nicholas church (14th c.). Annunciation (with Christ and Saint Nicholas). Detail: Angels playing all types of musical instruments next to God the Father in Glory, some of which are the same as those found in the Italian translations of the Psalms. Credits: VA.



the edition of this vernacular text, all Latin comparisons have unfortunately been made to what the editor calls the ‘Vulgate’, whence the impossibility of identifying the Latin source.

Most of this translator’s choices are etymological readings copying a Latin text or suffering the effects of etymological attraction (Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5; Ps 107:3; Ps 136:2; Ps 143:9; Ps 146:7; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3; Ps 150:4; Ps 150:5). He constantly pairs *cithara* with *cithara/cithara*, *psalterium* with *salterio*, *tympanum* with *timpano*, *organum* with *organo*, and *cymbalum* with *çimbalo*. An interesting detail appears in Ps 46:6, where the reading *tromba* may be influenced by *tuba* (Gallicanum and Romanum) and not *buccina* (Hebraicum). The same occurs in Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; and Ps 149:3. In Ps 48:5, *salterio* comes again from Gallicanum or Romanum, and not from Hebraicum (*cithara*). The final proof is the use of the feminine in Ps 67:26 (*covenete*). This translation testifies to the translator’s use of a Gallicanum (*iuvencularum*) or Hebraicum (*puellarum*), not Romanum (*iuvenum*). This leaves us with one option for the identification of the Latin source – a copy of the Gallicanum – but this inference needs further data in order to be verified.

The psalm translation included in the 1471 Bible printed by Nicolò Malermi is of a later date. Traditionally considered to be reusing previous translations from the Trecento (indeed some readings are strikingly similar to those of the *Tuscan Psalter*), the Malermi Bible repeats some etymological choices made by the *Venetian Psalter*.

One finds, of course, the same *tromba* reading in Ps 46:6. Since it does not fit the Hebraicum, this comes either from a Gallicanum / Romanum tradition or directly from previous translations such is the *Venetian Psalter*. It is repeated in Ps 80:4. The use of the feminine *fanciulle* in Ps 67:26 points towards the use of Gallicanum or Hebraicum, and not Romanum, but this could also come from earlier versions. Nevertheless, *cetera* from Ps 48:5 indicates the Hebraicum and not the Romanum or Gallicanum as the likely source. This presents us with a puzzle, as it is difficult to imagine what source (or sources) Nicolò Malermi could have used. Another puzzling translation appears in 97:6, where *tubae corneae* (Romanum and Gallicanum) are reduced to half and interpreted as ‘horn’ (*corno*). Could this be an echo of Hebraicum’s *bucina*? It is possible, given that Malermi’s *cetere* in Ps 136:2 follow the Hebraicum (*citharas*) and not the Romanum or Gallicanum reading (*organa*).

There are instances in which this text does not closely follow the etymological imitation of a Latin text and prefers newer words. See for this *tamburo* in Ps 80:3, where Latin

Venetian Psalter (ed.)

Confessate al Signore in la *çithara*; in lo *salterio* de diese corde salmeçate a quello.

Et io intrarò ad lo altare de Dio, ad lo Signore che alegra la çoventude mia. Io te confesserò in la *çithara*, Dio, Dio mio.

Muntò Dio in la iubilazione, çoè cantò, et lo Signore in la vose dela *tromba*.

Io inclinarò in la parabola la orecchia mia; io avrirò in lo *salterio* la preposiçion mia.

Leva suso, gloria mia; leva su, *salterio* et *cithara*; io leverò da maitino.

Pervegnudi sono i principi conçuncti a quelli che salmeçavano, in meço dele çovenete *che sonavano i timpani*.

Perché et io confesserò a ti in li vasselli del salmo la veritade toa, Dio; salmeçerò a ti in la *cithara*, Sancto Israel.

Reçevete el salmo, et dade el *timpano* e ’l *salterio* iocundo, cum la *çithara*.

Sonate in quello li hedificii cum *tromba* nobile del di dela solempnitade nostra.

in lo dechacordo, *psalterio*, cum chantico, in la *çithara*.

Salmeçadi a Dio in la *çithara*; in la *çithara* et cum vose de salmo;

in la *tromba*, et in la vose de *tromba* de corno. Allegràtve in lo conspecto del re del Signore;

Leva suso, *psalterio* et *çythara*; leverò suso la maitina.

In li salixi inmeço de quello suspendedesemo li *organi* nostri;

Dio, cantico novo io canterò a ti, in lo *salterio* dechacordo io salmeçerò a ti.

Praecinite [Lat.] al Signore in confessione, salmeçate alo Dio nostro in *çithara*.

Laudeno lo nomine de quello in choro, in *timpano* et *salterio* salmeçeno a quello.

Laudate quello in lo sono dela *tromba*; laudate quello in lo *salterio* et la *çithara*.

Laudate quello in lo *timpano* et lo choro; laudate quello in lo accordo et *organo*.

Laudate quello in *çimbali* ben sonanti; laudate quello in *çimbali* de alegreça.

Malermi Bible (incunabulum)

Celebrate il Signore colla *cetera*; cantate a lui su la *viola* e l’istromento da dieci corde. Ps 32:2

E io entrerò all’altar di Dio: a Dio, che rallegra la mia gioventù. Dio, Dio mio, ti loderò sulla mia *cetera*:... Ps 42:4

Dio e salito con trionfo: il Signore con la voce della *tromba*. Ps 46:6

Io inchinerò il mio orecchio alla mia parabola: io aprirò il mio detto oscuro con la *cetera*. Ps 48:5

Levati gloria mia, levati *salterio* e *cetera*: io mi leverò sul far del giorno. Ps 56:9

I cantori andavano avanti Dio, quelli che sonavano gl’istrumenti miei: nel mezzo vi erano le fanciulle *che suonavano vano i tamburi*. Ps 67:26

Ancora io, o Dio mio, ti celebrerò nella tua verità sopra l’istrumento della *viola*: io canterò in tua lode, o Santo d’ Israello su la *cetera*. Ps 70:22

Prendete a salmeggiare; recate il *tamburo*, la *cetera* dilettevole, e il *nablio*. Ps 80:3

Sonate con la *tromba* alle calende, nella solennità, al giorno della nostra festa. Ps 80:4

In sul decacordo, e in sul *nablio*; in sull’armonia che si fa con la *cetera*. Ps 91:4

Salmeçate al Signore con la *cetera*; con la *cetera*, e con voce di canto; Ps 97:5

con *trombe*, et con suon di *corno*. Giubilate nel conspetto del Re, del Signore:... Ps 97:6

Nablio, e *cetera*, destati: io mi risveglierò all’alba. Ps 107:3

Appiccammo le nostre *cetere* ai salci, in mezzo di essa: Ps 136:2

O Dio, io canterò una nuova canzone; io ti canterò sul *salterio* e l’istrumento da dieci corde. Ps 143:9

Cantate al Signore con lode, cantate al nostro Dio nella *cetera*. Ps 146:7

Lodino il suo nome nel ballo, cantino a lui sul *tamburo* e la *cetera*. Ps 149:3

Lodatelo in suon di *trombetta*, lodatelo in *salterio*, e in *cetera*. Ps 150:3

Lodatelo in *tamburo* e in piffero, lodatelo in corde ed *organo*. Ps 150:4

Lodatelo in *cembali* risuonanti, lodatelo in *cembali* di giubilo. Ps 150:5

versions agree (*tympanum*). The word was reused in Ps 150:4. But there are cases in which Malermi made refined choices. Such is the case of *nablio*, a word used in Ps 91:4 to translate *psalterium*, not because Malermi needed it (see his previous uses of *salterio*), but because he preferred this particular interpretation. *Nablio* is reused in Ps 107:3, in the same context, but later the translator returns to *salterio* (Ps 143:9 and Ps 150:3). This means that he used a different source in those two verses. The word *nablio* stands for the Hebrew stringed instrument *nēbel*. Since its translation in the Septuagint is *ψαλτήριον*, it is safe to assume that Malermi was sometimes using a learned gloss.

The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter and its French source (1S, VA)

The translation of such glossed versions of the Psalms was not restricted to French or Italian literatures. Similar but unrelated to Pierre de Paris' *Psalter*, the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* (MEGPP) presents the same approach, as it was apparently translated from a French version. Dating back to the 14th century, it alternates Latin verses with their Middle English translation.

The recent editors of the Middle English text, who also edit the Latin text of the English manuscripts and their probable French source (as a simple transcription) from the Paris manuscript, BnF, fr. 6260, do not scrupulously analyse the relationship between the French source and its English adaptation (Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 1, p. lxvi-lxix). They mention several idiosyncratic terms, concentrate on variant and erroneous readings, and warn against the use of an earlier study concerning the French loan words in Middle English text (Reuter 1938; Reuter 1939), because its author "did not have access to the data now available in the MED". According to them, "many of the 632 French loan words he

lists from the MEGPP were current when the MEGPP was created". Nevertheless, this approach diminishes the fact that Middle English authors were at least bilingual, and that the presence of French words in the MEGPP does not naturally originate from the Middle English language, but as a consequence of this bilingualism.

As for odd translation choices in English, some are not as odd as they may seem: the editors consider *croude* from Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4 (translating the French *cœur* / *chor*, in turn a translation of the Latin *chorus*) to be "an instrument of the Near East" (Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 225). Indeed such an instrument existed in England at the time (*crwth*, *crowd*, or *rote*), bearing the exact same name (*croude*, *croudar*, etc.; cf. Remnant 1969), but the word *croude* in our text probably refers to 'crowd' as 'gathering of people' (see *săboru* in the Romanian 'rhotic' psalters as a similar translation choice; as well as the same *croude* in Richard Rolle's Middle English version).

Leaving such matters aside, it is worth noting that certain

French version (ed.)		Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter (ed.)	
Ps 32:2	Reconnoissez en Nostre Seigneur en vertu, et lui faitez les enseignemens de dix commandemens.	Schryueþ to Lorde in vertu, and dooþ to hym þe techyng of þe ten comaundementz.	
Ps 42:4	Et ie entray a l'autier de Dieu, a Dieu qui fait ioieuse ma ieunesse.	And I schal entren vnto þe autere of God, to God þat makeþ glad my zingþe.	
Ps 46:6	Dieu monta en doulx chant, et Dieu est en voix de trompe .	God went up [<i>with ioie</i>] and oure Lorde in voice of trumpe .	
Ps 48:5	Je enclineray mon oreille en parolles si ouureray ou psaultier mon propos.	I schal bowe myne ere in wordes, and I schal oppen in þe sautere my purpose.	
Ps 56:9	Tu, ma gloire, leue; tu, salterion et harpe , leue! Je leuerey le matin.	Arise, þou my glorie, arise sautere and harp ! I schal arise in þe mornynge.	
Ps 67:26	Les princes ioyeux aiderent aux chantans, avec les petites et les ieunes pucelles tympanistes :	Þe princes ioyned togedre comen bifore þe syngeand, amyddes ȝongelynges taburnande :	
Ps 70:22	Car ie reconnoistray, Sire, en toy en parolle de pseaulme ta verite; ha Dieu, ie chanteray a toy en harpe ; tu es le saint d'Israel.	For I schal schriue vnto þe in wordes of song þi soophnesse; a God, I schal synge to þe in harp ; þou art þe holy of Israel.	
Ps 80:3	Prenez pseaulme, et donnez a lui honnour, droit, et ioie.	Take a songe, and ȝiue to hym liȝtnesse, sautrie gladeande wiþ ioie.	
Ps 80:4	Esiouyssez a lui en nouuel seruire de chant, ou noble iour de vostre sollempnite.	Gladen to hym in newe seruise of songe, in þe noble day of oure sollempnite,...	
Ps 91:4	en tes dix commandemens, avec chancon et harpe .	in þi ten comaundementz, wiþ song and harp.	
Ps 97:5	Chantez a Nostre Seigneur en harpe et en voix de pseaulme,	Syngeþ to our Lorde in harp , in harp and in voice of psalme	
Ps 97:6	en esemes meubables et en voix d' eseme . Esioissez ou regard du roy, Nostre Seigneur;	in trumpis ledande and voice of trumpe of horne. Gladeþ in þe siȝth of þe kyng, oure Lord;	
Ps 107:3	Leuez, psalterion et harpe ; ie leuerey au matin.	Arise, my glorie, arise sautre and harp , and I schal arise in þe mornynge.	
Ps 136:2	[Ps 136 after Ps 137] Nous pendismes nos ioyes transitoires en la moitie de luy.	[Ps 136 after Ps 137] We hengen our ioyes in þinges passande in þe myddes of hym.	
Ps 143:9	[the text passes directly from Ps 143:8 to Ps 143:10]	[the text passes directly from Ps 143:8 to Ps 143:11]	
Ps 146:7	Chantez a Nostre Seigneur en confession, si chantez a Nostre Seigneur en harpe ,	Syngeþ to oure Lorde in schrift, and syngeþ to oure God in harpe ,	
Ps 149:3	Louent le nom de Nostre Seigneur en cuer et en timpane , si chantent a luy en psalterion et en harpe .	Herizen þai þe name of oure Lorde in croude, and synge þai to hym in tabour and sautre .	
Ps 150:3	Louez le en son de cloche ; louez le en psalterion et harpe .	Herizeþ hym in soun of trumpe ; herizeþ hym in sautre and in harp .	
Ps 150:4	Louez le en tabour et en chor; louez le en corde et en orgue .	Herizeþ hym in taboure and in croude; herizeþ hym in cordes and orgnes .	
Ps 150:5	Louez le en cymballes bien sonnans; louez le en cymbalz de ioie.	Herizeþ hym in cymbales wel soundande; herizeþ hym in cymbales of ioie.	

details from the quotations presented herein testify to a much more complicated relation between the French source and its Middle English copy. It is true that many verses clearly indicate that the source was French and related to the version identified in the two English manuscripts.

Nevertheless, the presence of the word *sautrie* in Ps 80:3 of the Middle English text, where the French version has none of the three expected instruments, confirms that the source is related to the fr. 6260 manuscript of the BnF, but stemming from a different prototype. Ps 149:3 shows that the French version presents a more accurate text, meaning either that the source of the Middle English text was corrupted here, stemming from a different variant, or that the Middle English translator mixed things up. Furthermore, the mysterious *eseme* translating the trumpet in Ps 97:6 may account for fr. 6260's dependence on a previous version using another word, such as *buisine* (hence a scribal error; we checked the manuscript reading at f. 144vb, lines 4-5).

If this is true, the English text would derive from a modernized version of the same French text, a version already

using *trompe*, as does for instance Pierre de Paris (and the fr. 6260 manuscript too, but in Ps 46:6). The key to the identification of the source lies in an analysis of the late French Psalter tradition.

If we look into the translation choices for the musical instruments, other interesting things will help us understand this puzzling relation. The *taburnande* *varia lectio* of Ps 67:26, which is a perfectly correct French form (cf. *taborner*, 'to beat the drum'; *taborneor* or *tabornier*, 'drummer'; cf. DEAF) and testifies to the fact that the real manuscript source of this English version has yet to be identified. *Tanbour* itself could come from the French source, little does it matter that the fr. 6260 manuscript uses the word *timpane*. The use of *tanbour* in Pierre de Paris' version, in Richard Rolle's psalm commentary (*vide infra*), and in the MEGPP text may account for a later variant of the fr. 6260, stemming from a different branch of its manuscript tradition, or from an error.

As for the translation into *trumpe* of the fr. 6260 *cloches*, one may easily imagine the same solution: a scribal error of *timpane*, leading to the English *trumpe*.

Discussion

Latin glossed version (ed.)

Confitemini Domino in *cythara* (id est virtutibus); in *psalterio* (id est documentis) decem cordarum (id est preceptorum) psallite (id est facite) ei.

[first part is absent] Confitebor tibi in *cythara* (id est in interiori cordis), Deus, Deus meus.

Ascendit Deus in iubilacione, et Dominus (noster) in voce *thube*.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

Nam et ego confitebor tibi in vasis (id est verbis) psalmi veritatem tuam; Deus, psallam tibi in *cythara*, sanctus Israel.

Sumite psalmum, et date *tympanum* (id est letabundum), *psalterium* iocundum cum *cythara* (id est gaudio).

Buccinate (id est iubilate) in neomenia (id est nouo seruicio) *thuba* (id est cantu), in insigni die solempnitatis uestrae,

In decacordo, *psalterio* (id est in decem preceptis tuis), cum cantico in *cythara*.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

In psallicibus (id est in transitoriis) in medio eius suspendimus *organa* (id est gaudia) nostra.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

CP: I do not agree with the reading *eseme*. It would be more likely to read here the word *estive* 'flute, whistle' (from the Latin *tibia*; see Godefroy 1881-1902, vol. 3, p. 615, for several occurrences in context). P. Meyer assumed that the same word hides behind the corrupt reading *estume* (or even *estru*, in my opinion) in the list of musical instruments from the *Geste de Blanchefleur* already presented here (cf. Oulmont 1911, p. 168, v. 29 and 32; and note 32 of the same page for the contribution of P. Meyer). *Estive* appears in the *First French Psalm Commentary*, in the gloss of Ps 150:5-6 (*vide supra: par focels u par estives u par alcune maniere de vent ki les chalemels fait soner*) in a context where the anonymous 12th century author speaks of wind instruments in general. I therefore believe that the current transcription of the French text published by R. R. Black and R. St-Jacques needs to be corrected. In this particular case, my reading would be *estive d(e)menable... estive* (cf. *buisine demenable* in the Arundel Psalter).

IS: The reading *demenable* is indeed preferable in this context. Since the *Arundel French Psalter* reads *busine demenable*, with *demener* meaning 'to lead' (cf. AND), it is of particular interest to note that the MEGPP used *ledande*, also meaning 'leading', while the Rolle commentary to the psalms (*vide infra*) retains a Latinism (*ductilis*), subject to double interpretation: either as a hapax, slavishly following the Latin, or as a way of making sure that the 'ductibility' or *trumpe* is clearly expressed. This can also be evidence in support of the MEGPP following a reading similar to *estive d(e)menable*.

VA: Another proof of *estive* translating *tuba* is the Frankish name of the city of Thebes (favourite residence of Duke Guy II de la Roche) in the *Chronicle of Morea* (*Estives*) following a wordplay first noted in the *Roman de Thèbes*.

SOURCES:

For the Latin version, see Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 12, 17, 19, 22, 27, 29, 34, 38, 39, 42, 50, 52, 53. For the French version, Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 86, 95, 97, 98, 104, 110, 113, 122, 129, 133, 142, 162, 166, 168, 169, 170. For the Middle English text of the *Glossed Prose Psalter*, see Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 1, p. 20, 28, 30, 31, 36, 42, 45, 53, 60, 63, 71, 88, 92, 93, 94, 95.

Richard Rolle's texts (Is)

The English hermit Richard Rolle (ca. 1300-1349) wrote two psalm commentaries: one in Latin (probably written first) and an English one (intended for Margaret Kirby, a nun, at a later date). Both versions include the Latin quotations of the source, followed by the vernacular translation in the case of the English commentary. At a first glance, the two Latin texts used by Richard Rolle in his Latin and English commentaries to the psalms are one and the same, except for minor differences stemming either from textual tradition or from editorial choices (cf. e.g. Ps 97:5 the *deo nostro* / *deo* readings). Rolle's version of Gallicanum was known not only in England, but also in Central Europe, where it enjoyed a wide circulation (6 manuscripts in Prague only, according to Van Dussen 2018). Here are two particular readings of this version: Ps 70:22 (*psalmorum*); Ps 80:3 (*est* added).

Rolle's English translation choices show some affinity with the ones in MEGPP. The key points are Ps 32:2, Ps 42:4, Ps 56:9, Ps 67:26, Ps 70:22, Ps 149:3, and Ps 150:5. These will be discussed more at length in the comparison with the Wycliffite versions.

SOURCES:

Richard Rolle's Latin Psalter was never edited. As others before us, we extracted the psalmic quotations from the early modern version published in Faber 1536. For the quotations, see fol. XVIIr-v, XXIIIv, XXVIr, XXVIv, XXXIr, XXXVIr, XXXVIIIv, XLVIv, LII-IIv, LVIIr, LXIIIr, LXXVIIv, LXXXr, LXXXIv, LXXXIIv, LXXXIIv-LXXXIIIr, LXXXIIIr.

	Latin Comentary Lat. (ed.)	English Comentary Lat. (ed.)	English Comentary En. (ed.)
Ps 32:2	Confitemini domino in cithara & in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi	Confitemini domino in cithara & in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi	Shrifis til lord in the harpe : in psautery of ten cordis syngis til hym.
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus	...Confitebor tibi in cithara deus, deus meus:	I sall shrife til the in the harpe , god, my god; whi ert thou sary, my saule, & whi druys thou me.
Ps 46:6	Ascendit deus in iubilo et dominus in uoce tubae	Ascendit deus in iubilo: et dominus in voce tube	God steghe in ioy; and Lord in voice of trumpe .
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam: aperiam in psalterio proposicionem meam	I sall held in parabole myn ere; i sall oppyn in psawtry my proposicion.
Ps 56:9	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium & cythara exurgam diluculo	Exurge gloria mea, exurge psalterium & cythara : exurgam diluculo	Rise my ioy, ryse psautery and the harpe : i sall rise in the daghyng
Ps 67:26	Praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuencularum tympanistriarum	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus: in medio iuencularum tympanistriarum .	Bifor come prynces ioyned til syngand: in myddis of wenchis taburnystirs .
Ps 70:22	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in vasis psalmorum veritatem tuam [?] psallam tibi in cythara sanctus Israel	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in vasis psalmi veritatem tuam deus: psallam tibi cithera , sanctus israel.	Fforwhi and i sall shrife til the vessels of psalmes, thi sothfastens: i sall synge til the in the harpe , haligh of israel.
Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum est cum cythara	Sumite psalmum & date tympanum psalterium iocundum cum cythara .	Takys the psalm and gifes the taburn psaltry delitabil with the harpe .
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomoenia tuba in insigni die solennitatis vestrae	Buccinate in neomenia tuba : insigni die solempnitatis vestre.	Blawis in the newmone with trump ; in nobill day of 3oure solemnyte.
Ps 91:4	In decacordo psalterio cum cantico in cythara	In decacordo psalterio : cum cantico in cythara	In psautery of ten cordys: with sange in the harpe .
Ps 97:5	Psallite deo nostro in cythara in cythara & voce psalmi	Psallite deo in cythara , in cythara & voce psalmi	Syngis til oure god in harpe , in the harpe and in the voice of psalme
Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus & voce tubae corneae Iubilare in conspectu regis domini	in tubis ductilibus & voce tube corne...	in trumpys ductils and in voice of trumpe corne...
Ps 107:3	Exurge psalterium & cythara exurgam diluculo	Exurge gloria mea, exurge psalterium & cythara : exurgam diluculo.	Ryse my ioy, ryse my psautery and the harpe : i sall ryse in the dagheyng.
Ps 136:2	In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra	In salicibus in medio eius: suspendimus organa nostra.	In the wylghis in the myddis of hit: we hang vp our orgoyns .
Ps 143:9	Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi.	God new sange i sall synge til the; in psawtry of ten cordis til the sall i synge.
Ps 146:7	Praecinite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara	Precinite domino in confessione: psallite deo nostro in cythara .	Byfore syngis til lord in shrift; syngis til oure god in the harpe .
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano & psalterio psallant ei	Laudent nomen eius in choro: in tympano & psalterio psallant ei.	Loue thai his name in croude: in taburn and in psautere synge thai til him.
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio & cithara	Laudate eum in sono tube : laudate eum in psalterio & cythara .	Louys him in sown of trumpe; louys him in psaltry and in harpe .
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano & choro laudate eum in chordis & organo	Laudate eum in tympano & choro: laudate eum in cordis & organo .	Louys him in taburn and croude; louys him in strengis and orgyns .
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus: laudate eum in cymbalis iubilacionis	Louys him in chymys wele sownand; louys him in chymys of ioiynge

The Early and Late versions of the Wycliffite Bible's Book of Psalms (Is)

The Wycliffite Bible is the first complete translation of the Bible into English, undertaken in the Oxford University milieu in the second half of the 14th century by the followers of the theologian John Wyclif, *venerabilis doctor* to some, *execrabilis seductor* to others. The identity of the translators is unknown; the scale and the scholarly nature of the project suggest the involvement of many academic translators.

The surviving manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible are divided in two textual families, an early version (EV), more indebted to Latin, and a later version (LV), showing a certain degree of care for an idiomatic rendering of the English language. However, both versions are flawed as far as syntax, lexis, and word order are concerned, as they follow (too) closely their Latin original.

The three Middle English versions presented here do not wildly diverge from one another, nor from the Latin text, as it is to be expected. The Wycliffite texts, closely related in endeavors and purpose, are less close in some of the translation choices that will be discussed below. As far as

Richard Rolle's Psalms (RP) are concerned, while they closely follow their Latin original as well, it is worth pointing out that they present some translation choices in common with the MEGPP, which, at this point, no longer needs any introduction. However, these translation choices have more to do with doctrine and linguistic variation than with musical instrument realia.

The translation choices that become interesting once they are contrasted and compared occur from the very beginning of the sample under discussion in this study; for Ps 32:2, the EV and the LV follow the same line of translation as the MEGPP and the RP, save for *confitemini*, as one might expect,

SOURCES:

For the two edited versions of the entire Wycliffite Bible, see Forshall, Madden 1850, vol. 2, p. 767, 779, 783, 785, 793, 804, 808, 821, 832, 837, 832, 851, 876, 882, 887, 888.

Early Version (ed.)

Knoulecheth to the Lord in an **harpe**; in **sautre** of ten cordis doth salmys to hym.

And I shall go in to the auter of God ; to God that gladeth my 3outh. I shal knouleche to thee in an **harpe**, God, my God.

God ste3ide vp in ful io3e; and the Lord in vois of **trumpe**.

I shal ful bowe in to a parable myn ere; I shal opene in a **sauter** my proposicioun

Rys vp, my glorie; ris vp, **sautre** and **harpe**; I shal risen vp erly.

The princis camen befor ioyned with the singeris; in the myddel of the 3unge wymmen **tympanystris**.

For and I shal knouleche to thee in vesselis of salm thi treuthe, God; I shal do salm to thee in an **harpe**, thou holi of Israel.

Taketh salm, and 3yueth **timbre**; a merie **sautre** with an **harpe**.

Trumpeth in the newe mone; with a **trumpe** in the noble dai of oure solempnete.

Doth salm to the Lord in **harpe**, and in **harpe** and in vois of salm;

Doth salm to the Lord in **harpe**, and in **harpe** and in vois of salm; in **trumpis** beten out, and in vois of the hornene **trump**.

Ris vp, **sautre** and **harpe**;

In whities in the myddes of it; wee heengen vp oure **instrumens**. God, a newe song I shal singe to thee; in the ten cordid **sautre** I shal do salm to thee.

Singeth befor to the Lord in confessioun; doth salm to oure God in **harpe**.

Preise thei the name of hym in quer; in **timbre** and **sautre** do they salm to hym.

Preise 3ee hym in the soun of **trumpe**; preiseth hym in **sautre** and **harpe**.

Preise 3ee hym in **timbre** and quer; preise 3ee hym in cordis and **orgue**.

Preise 3ee hym in **cymbalis** wel sounende; Preise 3ee hym in **cymbalis** of huge io3ing

Late Version (ed.)

Knouleche 3e to the Lord in an **harpe**; synge 3e to hym in a **sautre** of ten strengis. Ps 32:2

And Y schal entre to the auter of God; to God, that gladith my 3onghthe. God, my God, Y schal knowleche to thee in an **harpe**. Ps 42:4

God stiede in hertli song; and the Lord in the vois of a **trumpe**. Ps 46:6

I schal bouwe doun myn eere in to a parable; Y schal opene my resoun set forth in a **sautree** Ps 48:5

Mi glorie, rise thou vp; **sautrie** and **harpe**, rise thou vp; Y schal rise vp eerli. Ps 56:9

Prynces ioyned with syngeris camen bifore; in the myddil of 3onge dameselis **syngynge in tympanis**. Ps 67:26

For whi and Y schal knowleche to thee, thou God, thi treuthe in the instrumentis of salm; Y schal synge in an **harpe** to thee, that art the hooli of Israel. Ps 70:22

Take 3e a salm, and 3yue 3e a **tympan**; a myrie **sautere** with an **harpe**. Ps 80:3

Blowe 3e with a **trumpe** in Neomenye; in the noble dai of 3oure solempnite. Ps 80:4

In a **sautrie** of ten cordis; with song in **harpe**. Ps 91:4

Singe 3e to the Lorde in an **harpe**; in **harpe** and vois of salm; in **trumpis** betun out with hamer, and in vois of a **trumpe** of horn. Ps 97:5
Ps 97:6

My glorie, ryse thou vp, **sautrie** and **harp**, rise thou vp; Y schal rise vp eerli. Ps 107:3

In salewis in the myddil therof; we hangiden vp oure **orguns**. Ps 136:2

God, Y schal synge to thee a new song; I schal seie salm to thee in a **sautre** of ten stringis. Ps 143:9

Bifore synge 3e to the Lord in knoulechyng; seye 3e salm to oure God in an **harpe**. Ps 146:7

Herie thei his name in a queer; seie thei salm to hym in a **tympan**, and **sautre**. Ps 149:3

Herie 3e hym in the soun of **trumpe**; herie 3e hym in a **sautre** and **harpe**. Ps 150:3

Herie 3e hym in a **tympane** and **queer**; herie 3e hym in strengis and **orgun**. Ps 150:4

Herie 3e hym in **cymbalis** sowninge wel, herie 3e hym in **cymbalis** of iubilacioun Ps 150:5

both choosing *knoulēchen* instead of *shrīven*, an option less heterodox, safer, and much closer in meaning to its Latin source.

The same pattern is observed in Ps 42:4: the EV and the LV translate *confitebor* by way of *knoulēchen*, while the MEGPP and the RP opt for *shrīven* again. Nothing noteworthy occurs in either Ps 46:6 or 48:5, all four translations being quite straightforward. The only variation in translation concerns *proposicionem* and is of a lexical nature, occurring this time in the LV and the MEGPP, reading *resoun* in the former and *wordes* in the latter.

Psalm 56:9 holds no surprise, as the four versions, still closely follow the Latin text. Things are different in Ps 67:26; the EV and the LV respect the Latin text, diverging only in translation choices for *tympanistrarium*: *tympanistris*, plural noun as a scrupulous rendering for the former and *syngynge in tympanis*, gerund form for the latter. More interesting, however, are the translations found in the RP and the MEGPP for this psalm: *psallentibus* is translated by the gerunds *syngand* and *synggeand*, respectively. *Tympanistrarium* is translated in the RP as a plural noun of French provenance - *taburnystirs*, this being the only attested example of use and form in the Middle English Dictionary (MED), while the MEGPP uses the gerund *taburnande*, also of French provenance and only occurrence in the MED.

The translation choices in Ps 70:22 follow the pattern observed in Ps 32:2: the Wycliffite texts render *confitebor* by ways of *knowleche* and *knowleche*, respectively, while the RP and MEGPP both choose variants of *shrīven*. More striking (and perhaps innovative) in this psalm is the translation choice of the simple, straightforward *vasis* into *instrumentis* in the LV and *wordes* in the MEGPP.

The analysis of the next psalm in this study (Ps 80:3) pivots around the translations of *tympanum*: all four versions have different choices, the first three of French provenance and influence: *timbre*, *tympan*, *taburn*, and *gladdeth* (EV, LV, RP, and MEGPP, respectively). When put into perspective, it might lead to the hypothesis that *tympanum* could indeed name a whole array of realia percussion instruments, thus explaining the variety in translation choices observed in the first three texts, and perhaps it also explains the choice of *gladdeth* in the MEGPP: why choose one instrument out of many, when they are all used to express joy and mirth?

Psalms 80:3 and 80:4 are fused together in the MEGPP, and the passage discussed below is only extant in the EV, the LV and the RP. The EV preserves *buccinate* in translation by ways of the verb *trumpeth*, whereas the RP and the LV share the choice of being very explicit about the action by translating it into *blowe* [...] *with a trumpe* and *blawis* [...] *with trump*, respectively. This passage is glossed in the LV, probably drawing on the *Glossa Ordinaria* or a similar exegetical text: *This salm was ordeyned to be songen in the feest of trumpis, to doo thankinges to God for the fruytis of the 3eer gederid thanne. Lire heere K. Neomenye; that is, the newe mone.* For further details, see the discussion on the French *Eadwine Psalter* above.

Psalm 91:4 is a close rendering of the Latin text in all four versions, showing nothing of notable interest. Psalm 97:5 is a different, more complex matter, revolving around the translation of *ductilibus*, qualifying *tubis*. The EV and the LV both translate *ductilibus* with explicit information about the *trumpis*: *beten out* (EV) or *betun out with a hamer* (LV). The RP translates *tubis ductilibus* word for word into *trumpys ductils*; *ductils* is the only attested occurrence of the word. For more information on this, *vide supra* the dis-

cussion on the MEGPP. The MED takes the interesting features a step further, as the MEGPP rendering *ledande* for *ductils* is also recorded as a possibility (bearing a question mark) for the meaning *malleable* in the *Surtees Psalter* for the same psalm, joining the explicit renderings of the EV and the LV. See for this the *Surtees Psalter* (from ms. Cotton Vespasian D.7, London, British Library), Ps 97:6:

Singes to lauerd in harp euen
In bemes ledandlike to se,
With steuen ofe beme horned þat be.

Moving further in the analysis, all four versions of the Psalms featured here show different choices in the translation of *diluculo* for Ps 107:3: the (presumable) noun *morutid* for the EV, the adverb *eerli* for the LV, the gerunds *dagheyng* for the RP and *mornynge* for the MEGPP. I do not agree with the editorial choice of Forshall and Madden for *morutid* in the EV, unattested and having no etymological grounds; I would suggest *morntid* as a correction (on the grounds of *u* and *n* being easily mistaken for one another in the transcription process, and on the grounds of *morn-tid(e)* being heavily attested in both Old and Middle English).

As far as Ps 136:2 is concerned, apart from different lexical choices having in common stark Old English and Germanic roots (in translating *salicibus* in all versions under scrutiny here: EV *whities*, LV *salewis*, and RP *wylighs*), it is interesting to point out that the EV presents a different choice of translation for *organa* into *instruments* than the LV and the RP, both choosing a plural form of *organ*; this fragment is unfortunately absent from the MEGPP.

Psalm 149:3 is fortunately recorded in the MEGPP and all four versions show features worthy of interest. The pivotal role here is held by the rendering of *choro*: for the forms recorded in the EV (*quer*, of French etymology) and the LV (*queer*, variant spelling of the EV reading), the MED points to these specific occurrences, in these specific contexts, as meaning either 'singing a song or dancing'.

It is an entirely different case with the translation choice in the RP and the MEGPP, where *choro* is translated as *croude*, meaning either a Celtic stringed instrument, heavily attested in the MED and indicated as an erroneous reading of the Latin *choro* in no less than 13 instances so far, or the pressing and / or gathering together of people, attested so far in only one source (the metrical romance of Arthur and Merlin from the Auchinleck Manuscript, ms. Advocates 19.2.1, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland). Another interesting feature in the translation of this psalm is that, while the LV slavishly follows the Latin original *tympano* for its translation, the EV reads *timbre*, the MEGPP *tabour*, and the RP *taburn*, the last two examples showing a curious proximity in translation choices, and all three a preference for words of French extraction.

The final psalm 150:3-5 reiterates the patterns observed in the other psalms above. The choice of verbs for *laudate* in all three verses across the four texts points again to a preference for French words in the EV and the RP (*preisen* and *louen*, respectively), while the LV and the MEGPP opt for idiomatic translations by means of graphic variants for *herien*: *herie* for the former, and *herizeþ* for the latter. Otherwise, the four versions of Ps 150:3 might as well be carbon copies of one another and of the Latin text. And while on the topic of carbon copy-like choices, *tympano* and *choro* are rendered in each text the exact same way they were in Ps 149:3, namely *quer* / *timbre* and *queer* / *tympane* for the EV and the LV, and *taburn* / *croude* - *ta-*

boure / *croude* for the RP and the MEGPP, respectively.

The final verse under discussion for this psalm shows, for all four texts, a preference for gerund forms in the translation of the adjective *sonantibus*, but there is a number of differences worth pointing out as well: first, while three texts choose a slavish rendering of *cymbalis* (the EV, the LV, and the MEGPP), the RP follows its French penchant and translates *cymbalis* into *chymys*.

As a future venue for research, it would be interesting to

run a lexicometry study on these witnesses, perhaps including the *Surtees Verse Psalter*, in order to establish colorations and correlations of the use of Germanic gerunds (“surprisingly rare” according to Donner 1986), of French loanwords, French-based innovations, and hapaxes, as this was unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study.

► Fig. 19. Saint-Porchaire church tower, Poitiers (France), 11th c. View of the second modillion of the cornice after the 2011-2012 restauration. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Avril.



Old Czech Psalter translations of the 14th century (kv)

THE WITTENBERG PSALTER. One of the first translations of the Psalms into Old Czech is preserved in manuscript A VI 6 of the Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars in Wittenberg, which also contains the Latin version of the biblical text. Although the earliest traces of the oldest translation of the Psalter are found in the isolated Czech glosses of a Latin Psalter from the turn of the 14th century (the *Museum Glossed Psalter*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, xvii A 12), several glosses make reference to a few musical terms. The complete text of the first translation was preserved a few decades later, when an unknown scribe transposed the whole first Czech translation of Psalms and the Old and New Testament Canticles between the lines of the Latin *Wittenberg Psalter*, not long after the original text was written. This other manuscript was written in mid-14th century, in a rather small octavo format, and contains the Latin Psalter (fol. 1r-263r), Latin antiphons and litany (fol. 263r-280v). The Czech translation for the psalms of the *Wittenberg Psalter* was translated quite literally, word by word, regardless of context, and it seems that this translation was primarily intended as an interlinear aide for understanding Latin Psalms during Mass and the Divine Office.

The layout of the manuscript indicates that it was planned to be bilingual from the beginning: the scribe wrote Czech words in red ink on a dedicated interline above the relevant Latin text, which is written on even lines in black ink. The Latin text of Psalm 91 was omitted by mistake during the copy process; it was added at a much later date on the last flyleaf of the manuscript, but without Czech translation. I therefore transcribe the quotation for Ps 91:4 from another copy of the first translation. Two fragments of two other Czech Psalters of the first half of the 14th century have survived, but without the verses needed for an analysis of the musical terminology. They were likely used as private prayer books, as the Latin version of the Psalms was omitted there.

In the 1350s, the Old Czech Psalter was incorporated in the first translation of the whole Bible. The *Dresden Bible*, the earliest extant manuscript of the first redaction, contains

SOURCES:

For the references to the *Wittenberg Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 47v, 77v, 79v–80r, 88r, 96v–97r, 112v, 124v, 153v–154r, 184v–185r, 208v, 245v, 251v, 254v–255r, 256v–257v. The same text in the Josef Vintř edition, see Vintř 1986, p. 92, 111, 116, 118, 130, 144, 150, 170, 195, 216, 252, 261, 265, 268, 269. For the references to Ps 91:4 from the *Dresden Bible*, see Kyas, Kyasová, Pečirková 1996, p. 258. For the references to the *Clementinum Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 33v, 39v, 46v, 47v, 54r, 62r, 66r, 76v, 86r, 90r–90v, 102v, 125v, 130v, 133r, 134v–135r. The same text in the Adolf Patera edition, see Patera 1890, p. 61, 80, 86–87, 99, 115, 123, 144, 162, 170, 193, 235, 244, 248, 251–252. For the references to the *Chapter Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 16v, 23v, 25v–26r, 30v, 35v, 38r, 45r, 51r, 54r, 61r, 75v–76r, 79r, 80v, 81v–82r. The same text in the Eugen Rippl edition, see Rippl 1928, p. 53, 61, 64, 69, 75, 78, 86, 93, 97, 105, 122, 126, 128–129. For the references to the *Poděbrady Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 29va, 39va–39vb, 42va, 43va, 49va, 56vb, 60rb, 70ra, 78vb, 82vb, 93ra–93rb, 115va–115vb, 120va, 122va–122vb, 124ra–124va. The same text in the Adolf Patera edition, see Patera 1899, p. 31, 39, 41–42, 47, 53, 56, 64, 71, 74, 83, 101, 104–108.

only minor adjustments to the Book of Psalms. As such, it is a valuable source for the restitution of Ps 91:4. The manuscript was unfortunately destroyed in 1914, when the Leuven library burned down. The *Dresden Bible* was on loan to Belgium, in order to be photographed (the codex was previously stored in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd.Oe.85). Fortunately, a modern edition has been published based on a manuscript copy made by Josef Vraštil in the beginning of the 20th century, and on photocopies of recto folios from the second half of the manuscript (for the facsimile see: Rothe, Scholtz 1993). The Book of Psalms was included in the fourth volume, in a semi-diplomatic transcription (Kyas, Kyasová, Pečirková 1996).

There are two editions of the Czech text of the *Wittenberg*

Wittenberg Psalter

- Ps 32:2 Zpoviedajte sě hospodinu v **húslech**, v **žaltáru** o **desěti strun** pějte jemu
- Ps 42:4 I vendu k oltáři božímu a k bohu mému, jenž těší mladost mů. Zpoviedaju sě tobě v **húslech**, bože, bože můj
- Ps 46:6 Všel bůh u přeradosti a hospodin v hlasu **trůbném**
- Ps 48:5 Přichyli ku pověsti ucho mé, otevru v **žaltáři** vyloženie mé
- Ps 56:9 Vstaň, chválo má, vstaň, **žaltáru** i **húsli**, vstanu v zabřěždenie
- Ps 67:26 Předešla kniežata, sňemše sě <s> zpievajúcimi, prostřed mladíc **bubnujúcich** [mladic **bubnujúcich**]
- Ps 70:22 Nebo jáz vzpoviedaju sě tobě v sudiech chvály pravdu tvú, bože, vzpievaju tobě v **húslech**, svatý israhelský
- Ps 80:3 Přijměte piesn a dajte **buben**, **žaltář** veselý s **húslemi**
- Ps 80:4 Trubte v novu **trubu** [**tr<ú>bu**], v slavný den hodův vašich
- Ps 91:4 V **desieti strun** [**desěti strun**] **žaltáře**, s piesní, v **húslech**
- Ps 97:5 Pějte hospodinu v **húslech** a v **húslech** hlasom piesenským
- Ps 97:6 v **trúbách** [**trúbách**] řutých a hlasem **trúby** rohové. Radujte sě před králem nebeským
- Ps 107:3 Vstaň, **žaltáru** a **húsli**, vstanu v zábřěsk
- Ps 136:2 U virbí střěd jeho pověsichom **húsle** nášě
- Ps 143:9 Bože, piesn novú zpievaju tobě, v **žaltáři** **desěti strun** [**desěti strun**] vzpěju tobě
- Ps 146:7 Přěpějte hospodinu ve zpovědi, zpievajte bohu našemu v **húslech**
- Ps 149:3 Chvalte jmě jeho v kóře, u **bubně** [u **bubně**], v **žaltáři** pějte jemu
- Ps 150:3 Chvalte jeho v zvucě **trubném**, chvalte jeho v **žaltáři** a v **húslech**
- Ps 150:4 Chvalte jeho u **bubně** i v kóře [v tancu], chvalte jeho v **strunách** i u **varhaniech** [v **orhaniech**]
- Ps 150:5 Chvalte jeho v **zvonečkách** [**zvonečkách**] dobře vznecích, chvalte jeho v **skrovadniciech** [**skrovadniciech**] radostných

Psalter, the older one being a semi-diplomatic transcription made by J. Gebauer in the 19th century (Gebauer 1880). The new one is a modern critical edition by J. Vintr (Vintr 1986). I used the Vintr edition of the *Wittenberg Psalter*, adding the missing punctuation to the verses and adjusting capital letters (*Hospodin* > *hospodin*). The musical terms also appearing in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* are repeated in square brackets. The verse Ps 91:4 is presented from the *Dresden Bible*. I transcribe it into modern Czech spelling according to the general principles used in the transcription of Old Czech texts.

THE CLEMENTINUM PSALTER represents the second Old Czech translation of the Psalms. This version was copied in an octavo manuscript of the National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII A 12, dating to the second third of the 14th century. It is a new translation of the Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, and Creed, written in a single column, without any

Latin text accompanying it. The rubrics (e.g. *feřie úternie počíná* 'the third weekday /i.e. Tuesday/ begins') point toward the use of this psalter in the daily prayers of a nun convent. The scribe was not careful in his transcription. He often omitted syllables, words, even whole verses. Nevertheless, the *Clementinum Psalter* still remains the only complete source of the second translation from the 14th century. The omissions are due to an anonymous user of the manuscript in the 15th century, who did not like this particular Czech version, so the psalms on the first folio (Ps 1:1-Ps 2:8) were erased and replaced by a newer and more comprehensible translation. Fortunately, all the psalms containing musical terms were not damaged by the corrector.

The main lexicographical benefit of the second Old Czech Psalter comes from the special nature of this translation. It was made by an anonymous scholar who embraces a contemporary stylistic search for a more poetic (and artifi-

Clementinum Psalter

Zpoviedajte se hospodinu v **húslech**, v **žaltáru desěti strun** slavte jemu

I vejdu k oltáru božímu, k bohu, jenž obraduje mladost mů. Zpoviedati se budu tobě v **ručnicích**, bože, bože můj

Vstúpil bůh v slávě a hospodin v hlasu **trúby**

Nakloň u příklad ucho mé, otevru v **chvále** předloženie mé

Vstaň chvála má, vstaň **sláva** má a **húsle**, vstanu na zabřěždeň

Předešli sú kniežata, sjednání slavúcím, u prostředě mladíc **bubnujúcích**

Nebo i jáz zpoviedati se budu tobě v sudiech slávy pravdu tvú, bože, slaviti budu tobě <...>, svatý Israhel

Přijměte slávu a dajte **buben**, **slávu** ochotnú s **húslmi**

Vzvučte v hodověj **trúbě**, v z<n>ameňú dne slavného našeho

V **desětistruně<m>** **žaltáru** se zpíeváním v **húslech**

Slavte hospodinu v **húslech**, v **húslech** a hlasem slávy

v **trúbách** povodných a hlasem **trúby** rohové. Slavte v obežřěňú krále hospodina

Vstaň, chválo má, a vstaň, **slavníku** a **húsle**, vstanu <n>a úsvitě

U vrbú u prostředě jeho pověsili sme **varhany** naše

Bože, piesen novú spievati budu tobě, v **slavníku desětistrunném** slaviti budu tobě

Zvučte hospodinu ve zpovědi, slavte bohu našemu v **húslech**

Chvalte jmě jeho v kóře, u **bubně** a v **slavníku** slavte jej

Chvalte jej v zvuku **trubném**, chvalte jej v **slavníku** a **húslech**

Chvalte jej u **bubně** a v kóře, chvalte jej v **srđcu** a v **varhaních**

Chvalte jej v **zvoncích bez srđec** dobře vznúcích, chvalte jej v **zvoncích** radosti

Chapter Psalter

Zpoviedajte se hospodinu v **húslech**, na **žaltáři desěti strun** slavte jemu

A vejdu k uoltáři buožímu, k bohu, jenž obveselije mladost mů. Vzpoviedaji se tobě v **hús<lech>**, bože můj

Vstúpil buoh v jásaní a hospodin v zvuku **trúby**

Vchýlím u pověst ucho mé a otevru v **žaltáři** propovědění mé

Vstaň, chválo má, vstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsli**, vstan<u> v svítanie

Předešla kniežata, přihrnuta slávu pějícím, vprostřed mladíček **bubenniček**

Nebo zpoviedati se budu tobě v sudiech s žalmy pravdu tvú, bože, zpoviedati se budu tobě v **húslech**, svatý Israhel

Vezměte žalm a dajte **buben**, **žaltář** veselý s **húslmi**

Trubte v novém měsíci **trúbú**, u velikém dni hodův vašich

V **desětistrunném žaltáři** s píesní v **húslech**

Slavte hospodinu v **húslech**, v **húslech** a v hlasě žalmy

v **trúbách** v litých a v hlasě **trúby** rohové. Jásave v uobežřění krále hospodina

Vstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsle**, vstanu v svítanie

Na vrbí vprostřed jeho pověsili smy **orhany** naše

Bože, piesn novú zpievati budu tobě, v **žaltáři desětistrunním** hústi budu tobě

Přězpěvujte hospodinu ve zpovědi, žalmy <pějete> bohu našemu v **húslech**

Chvalte jeho jmě v sbořě, v **bubně**, v **žaltáři** hra<j>te jemu

Chvalte jej v zvucě **trúby**, chvalte jej v **žaltáři** a v **húslech**

Chvalte jej v **bubně** a v kuořě, chvalte jej v **strunách** a v **uorhany**

Chvalte jej v **zvoncích** dobře zvučných, chvalte jej v **zvoncích** jásanie

Poděbrady Psalter

Vzchvalte hospodinu v **húslech**, v **žaltáři desěti strun** zpíevajte jemu Ps 32:2

I vendu k oltáři božímu, k bohu, jenž těší mladost mů. Vzchválím tě v **húslech**, bože, bože můj Ps 42:4

Vstúpil bůh v radosti a hospodin v hlasu **trúbném** Ps 46:6

Nachýlím ku pověsti ucho mé, otevru v **žaltáři** vypravenie mé Ps 48:5

Vstaň, slávo má, vstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsle**, vstanu<ť> v zábřězk Ps 56:9

Předešla kniežata, sjednána zpíevajícím, prostřed mladíc **bubnujících** Ps 67:26

Nebo jáz zpoviedaji se tobě v sudiech chvál<y> pravdu tvú, bože, zpěji tobě v **húslech**, svatý Israheli Ps 70:22

Jměte chválu a dajte **buben**, **žaltář** veselý s **húslmi** Ps 80:3

Trubte na nov v **trúbu**, v slovutný den hodův vašich Ps 80:4

V **desěti strun žaltáři** s píesní v **húslech** Ps 91:4

Pějte hospodinu v **húslech**, v **húslech** a hlasem chvalným Ps 97:5

v **trúbách** dutých a hlasem **trúby** rohové. Radujte se před králem hospodinem Ps 97:6

Vstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsle**, vstanu v zábřězk Ps 107:3

Na vrbách u prostřed jeho pověsichom **húsle** naše Ps 136:2

Bože, piesenci novú budu zpievati tobě a v **žaltáři desěti strun** zpěji tobě Ps 143:9

Před<p>ě<j>te hospodinu v zpovědi, zpíevajte bohu našemu v **húslech** Ps 146:7

Ať chválě jměno jeho v kuoře, v **bubně** a v **žaltáři** vzpějí jemu Ps 149:3

Chvalte jeho v zvuku **trubném**, chvalte jeho v **žaltáři** a v **húslech** Ps 150:3

Chvalte jeho v **bubně** a v kóře, chvalte jeho v **strunách** a u **varhaních** Ps 150:4

Chvalte jeho v **cymbalách** dobře zvučných, chvalte jeho v **skrovadicích** radostných Ps 150:5

cial) expression. The translator often uses calques and neologisms instead of common expressions for Latin words. This translation method is evident in some of the words used to translate musical notions.

Only a semi-diplomatic transcription of the *Clementinum Psalter* was published (Patera 1890). I transcribed the verse quotations with modern Czech spelling, based on Patera's edition, and I used the manuscript version for checking.

THE COMPILATION PSALTERS: THE CHAPTER PSALTER AND THE PODĚBRADY PSALTER. Two copies of Czech Psalters of the second half of the 14th century survived. They contain the second translation mixed with the first translation, or sometimes even an independent rendering.

The *Chapter Psalter* (Prague, National Museum Library, I E 65), copied in a quarto parchment manuscript sometime in the 1380s, includes the Old Czech Book of Psalms accompanied by an Old Czech Little Office of Our Lady. The author of the version copied in the *Chapter Psalter* partially reworked the translation, often replacing the original words with new ones, particularly with new calques. Some of his expressions point to a connection with Old Church Slavonic, probably a reflex of the Southern Slavic monks'

liturgy used in the Emmaus monastery of the Order of St Benedict in Prague (Kvas 1997, p. 34). Nevertheless, this does not apply to musical terms, as the *Chapter Psalter* mostly respected the translation choices of the *Wittenberg Psalter* in those particular cases.

The *Poděbrady Psalter* is another compilation psalter. It was copied in a quarto parchment manuscript, with the Psalms written on two columns. It dates back to 1396 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.k.2) and must have been conceived as an elaborate prayer book intended for a noblewoman. It contains a calendar (f. 3r-8v), the Psalms (f. 9r-134v), a Litany of the Saints (f. 134v-137v), Seven Penitential Psalms (f. 140r-150r), an Office of the Dead (f.150r-153v), etc. *Poděbrady Psalter* largely follows the first translation, but it contains a number renderings of the second Psalter translation. Traces of a third (and therefore new) translation can also be observed in the *Poděbrady Psalter*.

Both manuscripts were diplomatically edited: the *Chapter Psalter* by E. Rippl (Rippl 1928), the *Poděbrady Psalter* by A. Patera at the end of the 19th century (Patera 1899). As before, I transcribed the texts in modern spelling.

The Old Czech musical terms used in 14th century translations (kv)

The musical terms in the earliest Czech Psalter translations are both inherited words and loanwords. The oldest Czech terminology of musical instruments in the psalms is of Proto-Slavic origin (*buben*, *húsli*, *struna*, *zvon*). Nonetheless, other terms appear under an external cultural influence. I am referring here to a series of borrowings from Old High German and Latin. *Trúba* is one of the earliest loanwords, as are later words like *žaltář* and *organy* / *varhany*.

The translation choices of the first Old Czech Psalter for the musical instruments are *húsle* for *cithara*, *žaltář* for *psalterium*, *trúba* for *tuba*, *buben* for *tympanum*, *skrovadnicě* or *zvonečky* for *cymbalum*, and *varhany* for *organum*. Most of these terms are common words, except for the neologism *skrovadnicě*.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *CITHARA*. The Old Czech *húsli* or its later morphological form *húsle* is almost the only translation choice for *cithara*. *Húsli* is a pan-Slavic word of vernacular origin referring to a string instrument (cf. Old Church Slavonic *gōsli*, Czech *housle*, Polish *geśl*, Russian *gúsl*, Slovak *husle*, Serbo-Croatian *gūsle*, etc.). The Proto-Slavic reconstructed **gōslb*, **gōsli* is derived from the onomatopoeic verb **gōsti* (< **gōd-ti*) 'to play a string instrument'. In the verbal root *gōd-*, the first voiced consonant *g-* stands for the onset of sonorous tone expressed by the nasal vowel *-ō-*. The following consonant *-d* indicates the conclusion of the tone. In Old Czech, the verb has the form *hústi*, *hudu*, *hude*, and it means 'playing a string instrument', as opposed to the verb *pískati*, which denotes playing a wind instrument. The Czech event noun *hudba*, derived from the verb *hústi*, meant just playing the string instrument; today music in general is named *hudba*.

The Old Czech word *húsli* is a *plurale tantum*, denoting an object with a set of strings and therefore representing a generic string instrument in the Old Czech Psalters. I am unable to determine the nature of this instrument in detail; it could be a lute, a harp, a lyre, or a fiddle. The second translator of the *Clementine Psalter*, who preferred vernacular words to lexical borrowings, replaced *húsli* in Ps 42:4 with the word *ručnicě*, also known from other Czech texts. It was derived from the adjective *ruční* (cf. the noun

ruka, 'hand') and it refers to a musical instrument played with the hands. However, the translator stopped using this equivalent after several verses and returned to the word *húsli* from Ps 56:9 onward. That probably happened because the word *ručnicě* had several meanings in Old Czech: it also meant 'handcuffs' in the more recent biblical translations. See for this the Czech equivalent for the Latin *manica* in *Boskovic Bible's* Ps 149:8, i.e. the third Czech translation of the Psalter:

ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles eorum in *manicis* ferreis

aby svázali krále jich v pútech a urozené jich v *ručnicéch* železných

The *Clementinum Psalter* does not interpret the Latin phrase in *cithara* from Ps 70:22, but the preferred translation choice *v húslech* appears in all other copies. The Czech translation choices for Ps 136:2 show that Gallicanum was the primary Latin text translated into Old Czech, but the first translator of the Psalms also confronted it with other versions of the Latin Psalter, especially with the Hebraicum. In Ps 136:2, he preferred its expression *citharas* over the word *organa* from the Galicanum and Romanum. This is probably the reason why the Old Czech *húsle* appears instead of *orhany*/*varhany* in the *Wittenberg Psalter* and *Poděbrady Psalter*, as the latter sometimes follows the version of the first translation.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *CHORDA*. The Latin *chorda* 'string' has been usually translated into Old Czech as *struna*. It is a Slavic word, from the Proto-Slavic **struna*, with an original meaning of 'horsehair, tendon; bowstring', and interpreted as a derivative of the Indo-European root **streu-* 'strip, line, fiber'. In Old Czech, the word refers predominantly to a string as part of a musical instrument. The Czech word *struna* was used not only in Ps 150:4 for *in chordis*, but three times more in verses Ps 32:2, Ps 91:4, and Ps 143:9, for phrases like *psalterium decem chordarum* and *decachordum* (*psalterium*). The phrase *decem chordarum* is translated literally as *desěti/desieti strun*, but the version of the *Clementinum Psalter* and the *Compilation Psalters* chose the composed noun *desětistrunný* 'ten-string', al-

ready existing in Old Church Slavonic (*desęti-, desęto-, desętostrunęnъ*). The second Psalter translation differs from the others in Ps 150:4, where its translator read in *corde* instead of in *chordis* (Gallicanum) or in *cordis* (Romanum, Hebraicum). He therefore translated the verse as *chvalte jej v srdcu* ‘praise him in the heart’.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *TYMPANUM*. *Buben*, the preferred translation choice for the percussion instrument *tympanum*, belongs to the Proto-Slavic heritage in Old Czech. It is inherited from the Proto-Slavic **bъbъnъ*, in turn derived from an Indo-European onomatopoeic base **bom̥b-* (cf. Latin *bombus*, Greek *βόμβος*), depicting a repeated blow to a resonating instrument. The sound development of the Proto-Slavic word **bъbъnъ* to the Old Czech *buben* largely obscured the imitative form of the word. The Old Czech *buben* ‘drum’ is a common word for a simple percussion instrument in the 14th century, so it was the most common way of rendering the Latin *tympanum*. At that time, it was already used for the forming of new words: a verb *bubnovati* ‘to drum’ and a noun *bubennik* ‘drummer’, from which other lexemes were derived in order to translate in *medio iuvenularum tympanistiarum* of Ps 67:26. A verbal adjective *bubnující* ‘drumming’ seems to be the preferred translation choice of both translators. However, the adjective was changed to an agent noun *bubennička* ‘female drummer’ in the *Chapter Psalter*.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *CYMBALUM*. There was no preferred translation choice for *cymbalum* in the Old Czech Psalters. Each version provides us with a new rendering in vernacular for the name of this percussion instrument. Latin *cymbalum*, occurring twice in Ps 150:5, was interpreted by Czech translators as a glockenspiel, a percussion instrument composed of a set of metal objects, especially bells. Therefore, words like *zvonečki* or *zvonci* ‘small bells’ (*plurale tantum*) were used in the first and second Psalter translations. They are diminutive forms of the pan-Slavic word *zvon* ‘bell, a cup-shaped percussion instrument’ (cf. Old Church Slavonic *zvonъ*, Polish *dzwon*, Russian *zvon* etc.). The Proto-Slavic **zvonъ* with the meaning of ‘ringing, sound’ is a derivative of the verb *zvъnęti* ‘to sound, to resonate’. In the *Clementinum Psalter*, an innovation occurred in the form of *zvonci bez srdec* ‘bells without a clapper’. The sequence probably refers to an instrument with small bells that did not have an inner clapper but was played with an external hammer.

Another interesting translation choice for *cymbalum* appears in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* and *Wittenberg Psalter*. The Old Czech word *skrovadnicę* is quite enigmatic. It is most likely related to Old Church Slavonic *skovrada* ‘grate, grill, pan’, documented in other Slavic languages (cf. Polish *skawroda*, *skowroda*, Russian *skovoroda*, Byelorussian *skavarada*, Upper Lusatian *škorodej*, etc.). The derivative lexeme with specification suffix *-nicę* was used as a name for a metal percussion instrument, maybe with a shape similar to a grate or a pan. Even though the variant *skrovadnicę* for *cymbalum* appears again in the *Poděbrady Psalter* at the end of the 14th century, it was not a common expression, and it soon disappeared.

The second translation choice in the *Poděbrady Psalter*, the Old Czech loanword *cymbala* was taken from the third translation of the Psalter (see below).

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *PSALTERIUM*. In the case of *psalterium*, all Czech translators used Latinisms, but the word *žaltář* was not adopted into Czech directly from Latin. It came from Old High German, as well as other religious, ecclesiastical, and biblical terms such as *almužna* ‘alms’, *biskup* ‘bishop’, and *papež* ‘pope’. The Old High German

saltāri, *saltāre* explains the fricative consonant /ʒ/ at the beginning of the Czech loanword. Corresponding loanwords in other Slavic languages, borrowed directly from Greek or Latin, begin with the consonantic group *ps-* (cf. Old Church Slavonic *psalętyrъ*, Russian *psaltыръ*, Bulgarian *psaltir*, etc.). Furthermore, the Old Czech word *žaltář* is polysemic, having the same meaning as Latin *psalterium* (i.e. book of Psalms, and musical instrument). As such, it is the only translation choice of the first Czech Psalter for *psalterium*.

The second translator proceeded in another way, since he was looking for a vernacular rendering. As he did not usually use loanwords, Old Czech *žaltář* occurred only in Ps 91:4. He seems to have preferred calques, because three typical Czech words for *psalterium* are found in the *Clementinum Psalter*. The Old Czech synonyms *chvála* (Ps 48:5) and *sláva* (Ps 56:9, 80:3) are words borrowed from Latin by literal, root-for-root translation. The Latin verb *psallere* corresponds to the Czech verbs *chváliti* ‘to praise, to laud’ or *slaviti* ‘to glorify, to celebrate’ (cf. *psallentibus* Ps 67:26 – *slavúcim*). However, the translator was not satisfied with the semantic calques *chvála* and *sláva*, because they were polysemic, denoting ‘glory’, ‘fame’, ‘praise’, ‘celebration’, ‘hymn’. Moreover, he needed to use the word *sláva* for the translation of other Latin abstracts: *iubilum* ‘rejoicing, singing’ (cf. in *iubilo* Ps 46:6 – *v slávě*) and *psalmus* ‘psalm’ (cf. in *vasis psalmi* Ps 70:22 – *v sudiech slávy*; *sumite psalmum* Ps 80:3 – *přijměte slávu*, etc.). Consequently, the translator opted for another word (*slavník*), derived from the verb *slaviti*, not common in Old Czech. Latin *psalterium* was translated as *slavník* in the last four psalms (Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3). The attempts of the second translator to create a new terminology were not successful and they did not last very long, as the *Chapter Psalter* and the *Poděbrady Psalter* returned to the loanword *žaltář*.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *TUBA*. The trumpet was usually translated as *trúba* into Old Czech. It already translates Latin *tuba* in the glosses of the *Museum Glossed Psalter* (Ps 97:6). Although the Old Czech word *trúba* also was adopted from a foreign language, it must have been already

REFERENCES:

- On the Old Czech Psalter translation, see Kyas 1962; Kyas 1997, p. 32-34, 45, 71-72, 100, 120-122. On the musical terms in the Czech Bibles, see Svatoš 1998; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 15-16; Nejedlý 2018, p. 134-135. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *húsli*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 9-12; Machek 2010, p. 180; Rejzek 2015, p. 233, s.v. *housle*, *housti*; ESJS, p. 196-197, s.v. *gōsli*, *gōsti*. On the etymology of the Czech word *struna*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10, 13, 15; Rejzek 2015, p. 667; ESJS, p. 893, s.v. *struna*. On the etymology of the Czech word *buben*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 9; Rejzek 2015, p. 103, s.v. *buben*. On the etymology of the Czech word *zvon*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10; Rejzek 2015, p. 813, s.v. *zvon*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *skrovadnicę*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 15; ESJS p. 824-825, s.v. *skovrada*. On the etymology of the Czech word *žaltář*, see Newerkla 2004, p. 59, 67, 144-145; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 14; ESJS p. 725, s.v. *psalętyrъ*. On the etymology of the Czech word *sláva*, see ESJS p. 835-836, s.v. *slaviti*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *trúba*, see Newerkla 2004, p. 143; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10; Kluge 2011, p. 931, s.v. *Trompete*; ESJS p. 987, s.v. *tręba*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *orhany/varhany*, see Fiedlerová 1963, p. 305-308; ESJS p. 594-595, s.v. *oręganъ*.

assimilated in Czech during the High Middle Ages. The word family of *trúba* is very rich; it comprises verbs like *trúbiti*, *potrúbiti*, *vztrúbiti*, *zatrúbiti*, and *pozatrúbiti*; adjectives like *trubní/trubný* and *trubový*; diminutive forms like *trubič*, *trubička*, *trubka*, and *trúbina*; or agent nouns like *trubač*, *trúbník*, and *trubař*. Proto-Slavic *trǫba* is usually interpreted as a loanword of Germanic origin (cf. the Old High German *trumba*, possibly from an Old French *trompe*). Direct borrowing from Romance languages is also possible (cf. Middle Latin *trumba*, Italian *tromba*). The phonetics of Proto-Slavic *trǫba* point to an onomatopoeic origin, naming the sound of a metal wind instrument.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *ORGANA*. Another *plurale tantum* referring to a musical instrument in Old Czech Psalms is the word *orhany* or its more common phonetic variant *varhany* in Ps 150:4 (and in Ps 136:2 of the *Clementinum Psalter* and *Chapter Psalter*). It is an evident Latinism, but modern scholarship assumes that the *varhany* must have entered the Czech language from Old High German. The letter *v-* at the beginning of the word is interpreted as prosthetic, or as an original preposition *v*. It is a common word in Old Czech, so common that the second translator did not replace it with another vernacular word.

Discussion

VA: The 14th century Old Czech translation choices *húsli* and *struna* are basic Slavic terms corresponding to the readings *gosli* and *struna* of the Church Slavonic psalters. According to you, two other terms (Old Czech *buben*, and *zvon*) belong to the same category of basic Slavic terms, but I notice that they do not appear in the majority of Church Slavonic psalters. I agree with your interpretation, as they correspond to *bobinŭ* and *zvono* in the Church Slavonic version from commentary on the psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Little does it matter that the large majority of Church Slavonic psalters have other readings for these musical instruments, using the neologisms *tumpanŭ* and *kumbalŭ*. The interesting thing is that the Theodoret translation choices are sometimes adopted and generalized in 14th and 15th East Slavonic manuscripts (cf. MacRobert 2009, p. 429). According to C. M. MacRobert, the generalization of these readings occurred as an influence of exegetical texts, chief among whom was the Slavonic translation of Hesychius of Jerusalem's commentary on the psalms. I therefore wonder if the Old Czech readings could also originate from exegetical contexts. A particular quotation from the Slavonic translation of this commentary bears a strong resemblance to the Old Czech situation. I am thinking about the gloss *timŭpanŭ estŭ boubenŭ* ('the tympanum is a drum') (MacRobert 2009, p. 429). What I can say for sure is that *Glossa ordinaria* cannot be the source of the Old Czech translation choices (the only technical explanation concerning this musical instrument is found in the gloss of Ps 150:4, *tympanum de corio fit, extenso in ligno*). Could the Old Czech text be related to the Theodoret Church Slavonic version? The latter was used in a South Slavonic milieu since the 10th century, but this milieu was Orthodox, not Catholic. In any case, as things stand, I see only two possible interpretations: 1) an influence of previous South Slavonic readings; or 2) translation clusters, that is, words that had to be translated as such because of basic equivalents and automatisms in the target language. Since option 1 is beyond my expertise, I give one last example supporting option 2. Why should we consider that the Old Czech *trúba* represents a loanword from Old High German? An identical term appears in the readings *trǫba* of the Church Slavonic psalms. Could this be another instinctive translation choice based on basic Slavic vocabulary?

CMM: Old Church Slavonic *trǫba*, Polish *trąba*, Czech *trouba*, Russian *truba*, Bulgarian *trǎba*, Serbian / Croatian *truba* (etc. in other Slavonic languages) are the various outcomes, by regular sound change, of a single Common Slavonic loan from Germanic; there is no question of a separate loan from German into Czech.

HK: The existence of Old Church Slavic heritage in Old Czech language is a widely-discussed topic since early 19th century (cf. Vintr 1986, p. 9-13). The area closely bordering the territory of historical Bohemia (i.e. Great Moravia) was in contact with South Slavic territories since at least 863, the year when the Rostislav of Moravia invited and welcomed a Byzantine mission. Greek brothers Cyril and Methodius brought with them the Slavic translations of liturgical texts, written in a Slavic dialect of the Thessaloniki region. Some texts were also translated in Great Moravia, among which a possible complete translation of the Gospels (cf. Kyas 1997, p. 28-29). The Byzantine mission ended soon after Methodius' death with the expulsion of the Slavic disciples from Great Moravia. It is still unclear whether some disciples found refuge or not in nearby Bohemia, thus explaining a direct influence of the Church Slavonic tradition on the Czech language. It cannot be completely ruled out that Church Slavonic excerpts from the psalter could have circulated in Bohemia at that time.

A second, unarguable period of direct contacts between Czech and East Slavic areas occurred in the first half of the 11th century. The Sázava Benedictine monastery was founded at that time and Slavonic liturgy was used there. Nevertheless, its monks were already banished from Sázava in 1055. They took refuge in the Basilian monastery of Visehrad, where they established contacts with monks from the Kiev Pechersk Lavra. These contacts undoubtedly lasted even after their return to Bohemia in 1061, but this second Bohemian interlude did not last long, either. Already in 1096, the Sázava monks were again banished from Bohemia for good and the Sázava monastery had a Latin liturgical service. Given these facts, the original Slavonic presence in this monastery may have had echoes in later times; local monks could therefore use a vernacular translation of the psalter for their needs, but such texts were not preserved. Some awareness of the existence of a Church Slavonic version could equally be argued, but it must have diluted into an oral tradition by the time when the first Old Czech translations of the psalter were made.

A bold theory was argued by F. V. Mareš (Mareš 2000), who assumed that the first glosses to the Old Czech psalms could have been made as comments to the original Church Slavonic translation of the psalter. He believed that these glosses were primarily transcribed in those passages where the Church Slavonic text could cause difficulties for Old Czech readers, that is, when words looked similar in both languages, but their meaning was different. The first complete translation of the psalter was classified by F. V. Mareš as a response to a pre-existing, but outdated Church Slavonic translation, as a return to the ancient Slavic roots. However, this theory was rejected by J. Vintr, who found a relatively small number of possible paleo-Slavisms in the first Czech psalter (Vintr 1986, p. 22). Likewise, V. Kyas speaks only of distant lexical responses in the Old Czech versions of the Psalter (Kyas 1962, p. 9). The historical context cannot completely rule out the possibility of a Church Slavonic influence, but there is no clear evidence to support it, either. The different Old Czech translation by *buben* and *zvon*, as opposed to the majority of Church Slavonic psalters would rather suggest that we are indeed dealing with simple equivalents and automatisms in the target language.

Old Czech Psalter translations of the 15th century (kv)

At the turn of the 15th century, the Psalter was translated into Czech for the third time. In this new rendition of the psalms, the third translator modernised the language and style of the older Psalters, trying to render the meaning of whole sentences instead of concentrating his skill on the translation of individual words. At the same time, a new version of the translation of the whole Bible, the so-called second redaction, gradually took shape. The earliest surviving complete Bible manuscripts were copied in the 1410s, some of them belonging to the first redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation, others already containing the new second redaction of the Old Czech Bible.

The Czech versions of the psalms – first, second, and third translation, as well as their compilations – were transposed in some biblical manuscripts independently of the redaction of the Old Czech Bible and consequently suffered various alterations as well. Eventually, the third translation of the Psalter prevailed during the 15th century. It is preserved in complete Bibles, as well as in several separate Psalters from the middle and second half of the 15th century. Due to space limitations, the individual readings of minor variants of the 15th century Czech Psalter cannot be analysed here. I will therefore provide a general review of this particular Czech Psalter translation based on two biblical manuscripts and one early print.

THE BOSKOVICE BIBLE. The earliest copy of the third Old Czech Psalm translation is found in the *Boskovice Bible* (Olomouc, Research Library, M III 3, f. 235r-264v). So far

unedited, this biblical manuscript is remarkable in several respects: its biblical text belongs mostly to the second redaction of the Old Czech Bible, it was written with diacritics, and the illumination of the manuscript is of high quality but was never finished. It contains Old Czech tables of lections and an unusual copy of the *Short Exposition of the Ten Commandments* by Master Jan Hus (placed before Exodus – the owner of the manuscript was apparently a follower of the Hussite movement). The *Boskovice Bible* was written in the early days of the Hussite movement. Some scholars date it back to a time before 1420.

Most of the first Czech Psalter's translation choices are respected in the *Boskovice Bible* Psalter: *žaltář* for *psalterium*, *trúba* for *tuba*, *buben* for *tympanum*, *struna* for *chorde*, *varhany* for *organum*. In the case of *cithara*, one may notice some variant readings in the third Psalter translation.

SOURCES:

For the references to the *Boskovice Bible* manuscript version, see the f. 240v, 242v, 243v, 245r, 246v, 247v, 249v, 251v, 252v, 255r, 259v, 260v-261v. For the references to the *Padeřov Bible* manuscript version, see the f. 199rb, 201rb, 201vb-202ra, 203ra, 204va, 205rb, 207ra, 208vb, 209va, 211va, 215rb, 216ra, 216va-216vb. For the references to the *First Printed Psalter*, see f. 23v, 32v, 35v, 36v, 42r, 49r, 52r-52v, 61v, 69v, 73r, 82v, 101r, 105v, 107v, 108v-109r.

Boskovice Bible

Chvalte hospodina na **húslech** a na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách chvalte jeho

I vejduť k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, kterýž obveseluje mladost mú. Chváliti tě budu na **húsličkách**, bože, bože můj

Vstúpil jest bůh v utěšeném zpívaní a hospodin v hlasu **trúby**

Nakloním v pohádky ucho své, otevruť v **žaltáři** prpověď svú

Vstaň, chválo má, **žaltáři** a **húsličky**, vstanuť na úsvitě

Předešli sú kniežata, pričinení sú chvalitebníkom, prostřed mladíc **bubnujících**

Neb i já chváliti tě budu v uorudí chvály pravdu tvú, bože, chválu vzdám tobě na **húsličkách**, svatý Izrahel

Vezmě<te> chválu a dajte **buben**, **žaltář** utěšený s **húsličkami**

Trubte v novoměsiečné **trúby**, v slavném dni hodu vašeho

Na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách s piesní na **húsličkách**

Chvalte hospodina na **húslech**, na **húslech** a v hlasu chvály

a v **trúbách** dutých a v hlasu **trúby** rohové. S radostí chvalte před tváří hospodina krále

Povstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsličky**, vstanuť na úsvitě

Na vrbě v prostředce jeho pověsili smy **húsle** své

Bože, zpívatí budu tobě piesen novú, na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách chváliti tě budu

Zpíevajte hospodinu u vyznávání, vzdajte chválu bohu našemu na **húslech**

Chvalte jméno jeho v kuoře, na **bubně** a **žaltáři** chvalte jeho

Chvalte jeho v zvuku **trúby**, chvalte jeho na **žaltáři** i na **húslech**

Chvalte jeho na **bubně** i na kóře, chvalte jeho na **strunách** i na **varhanech**

Chvalte jeho na **cymbálech** dobře zvučných, chvalte jeho na **cymbálech** utěšeníe

Padeřov Bible

Chvalte hospodina na **húslech**, na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách chvalte jeho

I vejduť k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, kterýž obveseluje mladost mú. Chváliti tě budu na **húslech**, bože, bože můj

Vstúpil jest bůh v utěšeném zpívaní a pán v hlasu **trúby**

Nakloním v příslovie ucho mé, otevruť v **žaltáři** prpověď mú

Vstaň, chválo má, **žaltáři** a **húsličky**, vstanuť na úsvitě

Předešli sú kniežata, spojeni sú chvalitebníkom, prostřed mladíc **bubnujících**

Neb i já chváliti tě budu v orudí chvály pravdu tvú, bože, chválu vzdám tobě na **húsličkách**, svatý Izraheli

Vezměte chválu a dajte **buben**, **žaltář** utěšený s **húsličkami**

Trubte v novoměsiečné **trúby**, v znamenitém dni hodu vašeho

Na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách s piesní na **húsličkách**

Chválu vzdajte pánu na **húslech**, na **húslech** a v hlasu chvály

v **trúbách** dutých a v hlasu **trúby** rohové. S radostí chvalte před obličejem krále boha

Povstaň, **žaltáři** a **húsličky**, povstanuť na úsvitě

Na vrbí v prostředce jeho pověsili sme **húsle** naše

Bože, piesen novú zpívatí budu tobě, na **žaltáři** o desieti strunách chválu vzdám tobě

Zpíevajte pánu u vyznání, vzdajte chválu bohu našemu na **húslech**

Chvalte jméno jeho v kóře, na **bubně** i na **žaltáři** chvalte jeho

Chvalte jeho v zvuku **trúby**, chvalte jeho na **žaltáři** i na **húslech**

Chvalte jeho na **bubně** i na kóru, chvalte na **strunách** jeho i na **varhaních**

Chvalte jeho na **cymbálech** dobře zvučných, chvalte jej na **cymbálech** utěšeníe

Ps 32:2

Ps 42:4

Ps 46:6

Ps 48:5

Ps 56:9

Ps 67:26

Ps 70:22

Ps 80:3

Ps 80:4

Ps 91:4

Ps 97:5

Ps 97:6

Ps 107:3

Ps 136:2

Ps 143:9

Ps 146:7

Ps 149:3

Ps 150:3

Ps 150:4

Ps 150:5

Several times the translator used a diminutive form *húslíčky* (Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3) instead of the common translation choice *húse* (Ps 32:2; Ps 97:5; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3). According to the *Wittenberg Psalter*, the word *húse* instead of *varhany* is used in Ps 136:2 as well. The word *zvonce* no longer appears in the psalms of the *Boskovice Bible* and a Latinism *cymbál* is the preferred translation choice for *cymbalum* (Ps 150:5). This may imply that the word *cymbál* (with its morphological variant *cymbal*) known from the *Poděbrady Psalter* had already become a common word in Old Czech by that time. One may also assume that High German played a great part in the Czech adoption of the word *cymbál*, as the Old High German word *cymbala* probably entered Old Czech before it changed into the Middle High German *zimbele*.

THE PADEŘOV BIBLE is the earliest representative of the third redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation. The manuscript is stored in the National Austrian Library in Vienna (Cod. 1175, f. 194v-216r). This richly illuminated Bible was made for Hussite hetman Filip of Padeřov in 1432-1435.

The author of the third redaction of the Bible adopted the third translation of the Psalter and revised it, but he did not interfere with the translation of musical terms in general. There is only one variant reading in the *Padeřov Bible* in comparison with the third Psalter translation of the *Boskovice Bible*: the reading *húse* instead of *húslíčky* was used in Ps 42:4. As for musical instruments themselves, the miniatures marking the Psalter sections (*nocturni*) are especially valuable, as some of them depict the very musical instruments mentioned in the Psalms. In two of the *Padeřov Bible* miniatures, king David plays the *cithara* (f. 195r for Ps 1; f. 207r for Ps 80); in another one he plays the *cymbalum* (f. 209r for Ps 97); and in a fourth one, he holds the *psalterium* (f. 211v for Ps 109; cf. Kubík 2018, p. 66-67).

THE FIRST PRINTED PSALTER. The last Old Czech revision of the Psalter is associated with the preparation of the Czech Bible for printing. At first, the Psalter was printed separately in Prague in 1487 by a printer recently identified with Martin of Tišnov. Only two copies of the *First Printed Psalter* survived (Prague, Strahov Library, Dp VI 16, and Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 41 G 80). There are differences between them in the first letters of individual verses. These first letters in red ink were not printed, but painted by hand. Because of this the painted letters do not always coincide. The verse Ps 42:4, for instance, begins with the conjunction *a* in the copy of the National Library, while in the copy of Strahov Library it begins with the conjunction *i*. For this analysis, I used the readings of the National Library copy.

This fourth translation closely follows the translation choices of the third translation, with a few exceptions: the translator rejected the diminutive form *húslíčky* for *cithara* (except for Ps 80:3), using the word *húse* instead. On the contrary, he uses the diminutive form *bubnec* (Ps 67:26) as well as the word *buben*. In the verse Ps 136:2, the fourth translator returns to the Latin reading *organa* and translates it as *varhany*. The Old Czech word *žaltář* gained new meanings in the *First Printed Psalter*, denoting the 'psalm' itself; the previous translations preferred for this the words *piesn* 'song', *chvála* 'praise', *sláva* 'glory', or even the Latin *psalmus* (Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 97:5).

The most significant change in the *First Printed Psalter's* readings may be found in the translation of *chorus*. Latin *chorus* is polysemic, the biblical term referring to a choral dance accompanied by singing, to people gathered for dancing and singing, or (in the Middle Ages) to a choir performing liturgical songs. Metaphorically, the *chorus* also referred the place in the church where the choir

gathered for singing, or even to some musical instrument used by them. Although the oldest rendering of the phrase *in chorus* was preserved in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* as *v tancu* 'in a dance' (Ps 150:4), the *Wittenberg Psalter* and the second and third Czech Psalter translations adopted the Latin word as such (*kór*), probably with the meaning of 'choir gathered to sing'. However, the *First Printed Psalter* offers an unusual interpretation of Latin *chorus*. The fourth translator interpreted the phrase *in chorus* (Ps 149:3) in the same way as *in tympano* 'on the drum' (Ps 150:4), that is, not as a place or an activity, but a musical instrument. He therefore chose the phrases *dvojité píšťala* (Ps 150:4) and *odvojitá píšťala* (Ps 149:3) meaning 'double flute'. The original form *píščel* is a derivative of the verb *pískati*

First Printed Psalter (incunabulum)

- Ps 32:2 Chválu vzdávajte hospodinu na *húslech* a na *žaltáři* o desíti strunách prozpěvujte jemu
- Ps 42:4 A vejduť k oltáři božímu, k bohu, kterýžto obveseluje mladost mů. Chválu vzdávati budu tobě na *húslech*, bože, bože muoj
- Ps 46:6 Vstúpil jest buoh v radostném zpívaní a hospodin v hlasu *trúby*
- Ps 48:5 Nachýlími ku přísloví ucha svého, odvierati budu na *žaltáři* pohádky své
- Ps 56:9 Povstaniž, slávo má, povstaniž, *žaltáři* a *húsle*, povstanuť v jitře
- Ps 67:26 Předešliť sú kniežata, spojená súce s těmi, jenž chvály zpívali, v prostřed mladíc *bubence* držících
- Ps 70:22 Neboť i já chválitiť tě budu v nástrojích žaltáře pravdu tvů, bože, zpívatí budu tobě na *húslech*, svatý Izraheli
- Ps 80:3 Vezmětež žaltář a dajte *buben*, *žaltář* utěšený s *húslíčkami*
- Ps 80:4 Trubtež v *trúbu*, kterýž se trúbí času nového měsíce, v znamenitém dni slavnosti vaše
- Ps 91:4 Na *žaltáři* o desíti strunách s píseňkú na *húslech*
- Ps 97:5 Chvaltež hospodina na *húslech*, na *húslech* a hlasem žaltáře
- Ps 97:6 a na *troubu* duté a hlasem *trúby* rohové. Plesajtež před obličejem krále pána
- Ps 107:3 Povstaniž, *žaltáři* a *húsle*, povstanuť na úsvitě
- Ps 136:2 Po vrbíech u prostřed něho zvěsili sme *varhany* naše
- Ps 143:9 Bože, piesen novú zpívatí budu tobě, na *žaltáři* o desíti strunách prozpěvovati budu tobě
- Ps 146:7 Zpíevajtež hospodinu v chválení a prozpěvujte bohu našemu na *húslech*
- Ps 149:3 A chvaltež jméno jeho na *odvojitě píšťale*, na *bubnu* a *žaltáři* prozpěvujte jemu
- Ps 150:3 Chvalte ho v zvuku *trúby*, chvalte ho na *žaltáři* a na *húslech*
- Ps 150:4 Chvaltež o na *bubnu* a na *dvojité píšťale*, chvalte ho na *strunách* i na *varhaních*
- Ps 150:5 Chvaltež ho na *cymbálech* zvučných, chvalte ho na *cymbálech* plesanie plných

REFERENCES:

On the etymology of the Old Czech word *cymbala*, see Newerklá 2004, p. 127; Kluge 2011, p. 1011, s.v. *Zimbel*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *píšťala*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 13; Rejzek 2015, p. 516, s.v. *pistole*.

‘whistle, play, blow’, originating from the onomatopoeic base *pi-* by appending the intensification suffix *-sk-*. In more recent times, the phonetic variant *piščala* denoting a whistling instrument gained the new meaning ‘pistol’ due to external similarity (metaphorically). The name spread to Central and Western Europe and nowadays refers to a ‘small firearm designed to be held in one hand’ (cf. Czech *pistole*, English *pistol*, German *Pistole*, French *pistolet*). In the *First Printed Psalter*, one may assume that the words (*o*) *dvojitá pišťala* still refer to a musical instrument composed of two flutes, used for creating a more elaborate sound.

Discussion

VA: I believe that 15th century Old Czech translations should be compared to the Theodoret commentary as well, as it has two different readings for the organ (*sūsodŭ* and *pišťali*, instead of the common reading in Church Slavonic psalters: *organŭ*). I am therefore interested in the fact that the translator of the Old Czech first Printer Psalter uses a similar word for the Latin *chorus* (*piščel*). Returning to the commentary already quoted by C. M. MacRobert, it is worth noting that it actually contains the gloss *arganŭ esti pišťali* (‘the organ is a wind instrument’) (MacRobert 2009, p. 429). Although these translation choices refer to two completely different words (organ for Church Slavonic and chorus for Old Czech), there is a strong possibility that the use of the Old Czech *dvojitá pišťala* and that of the Church Slavonic *pišťali* reflect similar solutions that translators had to follow when confronted with an unclear context.

The possibility of a direct Church Slavonic influence is rather unlikely here. One would have expected similar readings in the peculiar vernacular choices for the word ‘psalter’, but the Theodoret commentary has *pěsninica* (instead of the expected Slavonic *psaltyri*) and the second Czech translator has *slavnik* (instead of the expected Old Czech *žaltár*). Since these readings are completely unrelated, one must exclude the possibility of a direct influence. Nevertheless, the translator of the Old Czech first Printed Psalter could have simply chosen a musical instrument previously unnamed in his translation. I have verified if this may originate from the *Glossa ordinaria* or another text related to it, but it cannot, because the *Glossa* is quite clear herein (*chorus est temperata vocum collectio*). In this case, I wonder if the same word appears in other parts of the first printed Czech Bible? I am thinking about the historical books, where flutes are often mentioned. See for this the verses quoted in the analysis of *tympanum*, in the French section, where the anonymous French translator of the *Quatre livre des reis* version uses *frestel*, that is, ‘flute’ or ‘whistle’, in order to translate the Latin *tibia* (1 Sa 10:5) and *sistrum* (1 Sa 18:6; 2 Sa 6:5). If either of the translations of *tibia* and *sistrum* are in the form of *pišťali*, then my working hypothesis could be valid. If not, the problem is far more complicated than I imagined it.

KV: The translation choice *dvojitá pišťala* in the first printed Psalter may be related to contemporary biblical exegesis concerning the Latin term *chorus*. Although we do not know whether the fourth redaction from the *Prague Bible* was the work of the same translators who rendered the first printed Psalter, current opinion holds that both texts originated in the same environment, probably in the Utraquist-oriented Prague University. Both V. Kyas and J. Vintr (Kyas 1997, p. 129–130; Vintr 2012, p. 61–62) discussed its modernization of language and style, therefore the 4th translation reflected contemporary exegesis. The Latin word *chorus* referred to dancing during a procession in some Bible verses (*vide infra* for Ex 15:20 and Jg 11:34, where the phrase *cum tympanis et choris* occurs). The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd redactions of the Old Czech Bible translated the *chorus* as *tanec* ‘dance’. The mention of a musical instrument in the 4th redaction repre-

sents a new choice. This Old Czech Bible translator chose a type of musical instrument that appears often in connection with the drum in the religious or triumphal processions of the historical books (e.g. Jg 3:10: *in tympanis et tibiis* – *s bubny a s pišťbou*, see below).

If this change was inspired by a biblical commentary, it would not be *Glossa ordinaria*, since it was not a source for the interpretation of the word *chorus* in other Old Testament verses. *Chorus* as a musical instrument is nevertheless mentioned in Anselm of Laon’s *Explanatio in psalms* (12th century). J. Vintr argued that the translators of the first Czech Psalter used this text along with other commentaries focusing on an allegorical interpretation of the Psalms (Vintr 1985, p. 421; Vintr 1986, p. 24). Two centuries later, the translators of the fourth redaction could have equally used the available exegesis, such as Alanus’ note to the Latin word *chorus* in Ps 149:3: *Nota quia chorus est variorum vocum placens concordia, quae concordiam charitatis significat, in qua laudandus est Deus, (...) Vel chorus est musicum instrumentum, cuius chordae comparas voces, nec discordes reddunt* (‘Note that *chorus* represents the delightful harmony of different voices, meaning the harmony of charity / love, in which the Lord should be praised, (...) Or *chorus* is a musical instrument whose strings resemble voices, not disharmonic sounds’ (PL, vol. 116, col. 692). Perhaps this is why the translator of the first printed Psalter chose a wind instrument which emits two harmonic tones.

Yet there is also another aspect to consider. The Czech word *tanec* had a negative connotation in the late 15th century. Hussite preachers criticized believers for worldly pleasures (wearing fine clothes, visiting taverns, playing dice, etc.) and dancing was considered to be a mortal sin, punishable according to the *Four Articles of Prague* (the Hussite programme of 1420). The word *tanec* would therefore be avoided cautiously in the Czech biblical texts used by the Utraquist Church. In the Old Testament verses (e.g. Jg 3:10, 1 Sa 18:6; see below), the phrase *ducere choros* ‘to dance’ was translated as *tancovati* or *věsti / voditi tance*, while the authors of the *Prague Bible* decided upon a loose rendering *veseliti se* ‘jollify, revel’ in both cases. This intentional lack of dancing in the fourth Bible translation may be related to the change of the traditional interpretation of *chorus* in the Psalms as well.

EXAMPLES:

Ex 15:20: *egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris* || 1st, 2nd, and 3rd redactions: *i vyšly sú všěcky ženy po nie s bubny a s tanci* || 4th redaction: *a vyšly jsú všěcky ženy za ní z bubny a s pišťaly*

Jg 11:34: *occurrit ei unigenita filia sua cum tympanis et choris* || 1st and 2nd redactions: *střěte jej jedinā dci jeho s bubny i s tanci* || 3rd redaction: *potka se s ním jednorozená dcera s bubny a s tanci* || 4th redaction: *vyšla proti němu dcera jeho jednorozená z bubny a s pišťbú*

1 Sa 18:6: *mulieres ... cantantes, chorosque ducentes in occursum Saul regis, in tympanis laetitiae, et in sistris* || 1st redaction: *ženy ... zpíevajíce a vedúce tance proti králi Saulovi s bubny s velikým veselím a s húslemi* || 2nd redaction: *ženy ... zpíevajíce a vodíe tance proti králi Saulovi s bubny a s veselím a s húslemi* || 3rd redaction: *ženy ... zpíevajíce a tance vodíe v potkání Saula krále v bubniech vesele a s húslemi* || 4th redaction: *ženy ... zpíevajíce a veselíce se v cestu králi Saulovi s hudbami aneb s hudbou a s pišťbú i s bubny*

Jdt 3:10: *cum coronis et lampadibus, ducentes choros in tympanis et tibiis* || 1st redaction: *s korunami a s vitice tancující s pišci i s bubeníky* || 2nd redaction: *s korunami i světdnícemi vodíe tance s pišci i s bubenníky* || 3rd redaction: *s korunami a s lampami vodíe tance v pišťlách a v bubniech* || 4th redaction: *s korúhvemi a s lampami veselíce se s bubny a s pišťbou*

Hungarian translations (AK)

APOR CODEX. The earliest translation of the Psalter into Hungarian has been preserved as the first unit of the *Apor Codex*, a composite manuscript held today in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Romania (shelfmark: A 1330). While the second part of this volume was clearly prepared for the use of the Premonstratensian nuns of Somlóvásárhely in the first decades of the 16th century, its first part is older, originating from the end of the 15th century. This part was mo-

delled probably on a *de tempore Psalterium cum hymnis*, containing a psalter with the hymns and canticles of the divine office for the period from Advent to Easter. The codex suffered serious damage throughout its history, several of its quires having been cut or torn out. Some pages are missing even from the extant quires. The translation of the first 29 psalms is therefore missing, while only small fragments of text remain from Ps 30-55. (Ps 80 and most of

Apor Codex	Döbrentei Codex	Codex of Keszthely
Ps 32:2 [acephalous manuscript]	Hegedőbe valljatok Úrnak, tízszerű kin-tornában dicsőséhetek neki.	Valljátok Urat hegedőbe , és tízhúrú kin-tornába dicséritek ütet.
Ps 42:4 [acephalous manuscript]	És bemegyek Istennek oltárához, az Istenhez, ki én iffiúságomat vigasztalja. Én Istenem, én Istenem, hegedőbe neked vallok.	És belmegyek Istennek oltárához, én Istenemhez, ki megvigasztalja én ifiúságo-mat. Vallak tégedet hegedőbe , én Istenem.
Ps 46:6 [acephalous manuscript]	Isten felmene víg ínekbe, és Úr felmene kürtszóba .	Felmene Isten vigasságba, és Úr kürtnek szavába.
Ps 48:5 [acephalous manuscript]	Példabeszédre hajtom én fületem, dicsősejtsébe kinyitom én tökéletes beszédemet.	Lehajtom én filemet példabeszédre, megnyitom dicsőítésbe én tekéletes beszédemet.
Ps 56:9 Kelj fel, én dicsőségem, kelj fel zoltár és hegedőben . Felkelek holval.	Én dicsőségem, támadj fel, támadj fel dicsősejtő . És hegedő szóval regiel fel-kelek.	Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel, én dicsőitém és vigasságom , én felkelek holval.
Ps 67:26 Eleveköltének a fedelmek egyesöltenek az ifiúcska timpanizálók éneklőknek közepettek.	Fejedelnek dicsősejtőkhez közösülvén elől vönnek [jönnek] templomnak vigadó leányok között.	Elélvevők fejedelmek szerkezevén dicsérlőkhez vigadó leányoknak kezette.
Ps 70:22 Mert es én vallom teneked éneketnek edényiben te igazságodat, Isten. Éneklek teneked hegedőben Israelynek szente.	Mert im, én es dicsősejtőknek edényében vallom neked te bizonyágodat. Israelnek szent, hegedőbe dicsősejtek neked.	Mert én es vallak tégedet, dicséret-nek edénye, te bizonyágodat, Isten, dicséitem teneked hegedének miatta, Isdraelnek Istene.
Ps 80:3 [missing folios]	Vegyetek psaltert, és adjatok kintornyák [kintornyát] , kedves dicsősejtőt hegedovel öszve.	Mondjatok dicséretet, és adjatok hálát , és kedves dicséretet tegyetek hegedovel .
Ps 80:4 [missing folios]	Kürtöljetek új kürtbe ti nagy fő in-nepteknek napján.	Kürteljetek új kürttel te innepteknek jeles napján.
Ps 91:4 a tízhúrú zoltárban éneklek hegedőben .	tízhúrú kin-tornában hegedőbeli ínekkel.	tízhúrú kin-tornákba hegedőbeli ínekkel.
Ps 97:5 Éneketek Úrnak hegedőben, hegedőben és éneketnek szavával.	Dicsőséhetek Úrnak hegedőben, hegedőben és kin-tornának szavában,	Dicséritek Urat hegedőbe és kin-tornába és dicséretnek szavával.
Ps 97:6 vert trombitákkal és szaru trombitának szavával. Éneketek Úr királynak személyében.	visselő kürtökben és szarukürtnek szavában. Vigadjatok Úr király előtt.	viselő kürtbe és szaru csinált kürtbe . Vigadjatok Úr királynak elette.
Ps 107:3 Kelj fel, én dicsőségem, kelj fel, zoltár és hegedő . Felkelek villámodat.	Én dicsőségem, támadj fel, psalter és hegedő holval felkelek.	Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel én dicséretem és én hegedüm . Én feltá-madok reggel.
Ps 136:2 A füzekre ő közepette felcsüggesztettük mű orgonáinkat .	Ott közepin az kvacson hogy ülönk vala, felfüggettük mi orgonánkot .	Űneki kezepette az fizesbe felfigetek mi vigasságtévénket .
Ps 143:9 Isten, új éneket éneklek teneked, a tízhúrú zoltárban éneklek teneked.	Isten, új íneket éneklek neked, tízhúrú kin-tornában dicsősejtek neked.	Isten, én új íneket éneklek teneked, és tízhúú [tízhúrú] kin-tornába dicsérlek tégedet.
Ps 146:7 Éneketek Úrnak vallatban, éneketek mű Istenönknek hegedőben .	Vallásban ínekljete Úrnak, dicsőséhetek hegedőben mi Istenönknek.	Énekeljete Úrnak vallásba, és dicséritek mi Istenenket hegedőbe .
Ps 149:3 Dicséritek ő nevét karban, timpanom-ban és zoltárban énekljete őneki.	Ű nevét dicsérlék karban, és dobban és kin-tornában dicsősöhönek neki.	Dicsérlék ű nevét karba, és dobban és dicséretbe dicsérlék ütet.
Ps 150:3 Dicséritek ötet trombitának szózatjában, dicséritek ötet zoltárban és hegedőben .	Dicséritek Urat kürt hangosságában, dicséritek ütet kin-tornában és hegedőben .	Dicséritek ütet kürtnek hangosságába, dicséritek ütet kin-tornába és hegedőbe .
Ps 150:4 [acaudate manuscript]	Dicséritek ütet dobban és karban, dicséritek ütet szívekben és orgonában .	Dicséritek ütet dobba és karba, dicséritek ütet húrba és orgonába .
Ps 150:5 [acaudate manuscript]	Dicséritek ütet jószóló cimbalomban , dicséritek ütet vigasságos cimbalomban .	Dicséritek ütet jó hangus szavú cimba-lomba , dicséritek ütet vigasságus cimbalomba .

Ps 150 have also been lost.) The analysis of these fragments (Bottyánfy 2016; cf. Zelliger 2014) demonstrated that the first part of the psalter (or what survived of it) contained a different translation from the work of the second scribe, who took over from the middle of Psalm 50. This second part preserves a translation prepared probably in the first half of the 15th century, which is closely related to the translation of the Old Testament preserved in the *Codex of Vienna* (National Széchényi Library, MNy 72) and the translation of the Gospels preserved in the *Codex of Mu-*

nich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hung. 1). They are parts of the so-called *Hungarian Hussite Bible*, the origin of which is still much-debated in Hungarian literary history (for the most important arguments and counterarguments, see: Szabó 1989, Korompay 2015).

Although the psalms appear in a numerical order, not according to order of the liturgy, and although they are introduced by rubrics offering information on the author, genre, and historical background of the texts, references are made

to the liturgical function of some psalms as well. This suggests that the translation was not made from a liturgical book, but from a manuscript containing the Book of Psalms or several biblical books. However, the aim of the manuscript was liturgy related. It was probably prepared for nuns to facilitate their understanding of the liturgy. Hungarian-language summaries or titles were added to the psalms as marginal notes probably in the 1530s by a Gothic cursive hand. These marginalia are almost identical with the summaries figuring in the prose Psalter translated by the Protestant István Székely and published in Cracow in 1548 (Székely 1548). According to Réka Kocsis the marginalia pre-date the publication of the Székely translation, both texts possibly drawing on a common source (Kocsis 2014, 2015).

The translation of the psalms in the *Apor Codex* is based on Gallicanum, although Ps 94:4 reflects the version of Romanum (Szabó 1967, p. 205). The translator gives almost a word for word translation of the Latin text, faithfully transposing Latin constructions to the detriment of intelligibility (Boros 1903, p. 42-49). He prefers Latin loan-words such as *psalmos* and leaves some

Kulcsár Codex	Festetics Codex
Valljátok Urat hegedűbe , és tízhúrú kintornába dicséritek ütet.	[missing psalm]
És bel megyek Istennek oltárához, és én Istenemhez [Istenemhez], ki megvigasztalja én ifiúságomat. Vallak tégedet hegedűbe , én Istenem.	[missing psalm]
Felmene Isten vigasságba, és Úr kürtnek szavába.	[missing psalm]
Lehajtom én filemet példabeszédre, megnyitom dicsőítésbe én tekéletes beszédemet.	[missing psalm]
Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel, én dicsőitém et vigasságom , én felkelek holval.	[missing psalm]
Elélvevék fejedelmek szerkezőn dicsérők és vigadó leányoknak.	[missing psalm]
Mert én es vallak tégedet, dicséretnek edényébe, te bizanyságotat, Isten, dicséitem teneked hegedűnek miatta, Izraelnek Istene.	[missing psalm]
Mondjatos dicséretet, és adjatos hálát , és kedves dicséretet tegyetek hegedűvel .	[missing psalm]
Kürteljétek új kürttel te innepteknek jeles napján.	[missing psalm]
tízhúrú kintornákba hegedűbeli ínekekkel.	[missing psalm]
Dicséritek Urat hegedűbe és kintornába és dicséretnek szavával.	[missing psalm]
viselem kürtbe és szaru csinált kürtbe . Vigadjatok Úr királynak elette.	[missing psalm]
Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel én dicséretem és én hegedűm . Én feltámadok reggel.	[missing psalm]
Úneki kezepette az fizesbe felfigeszték mi vigassátevénket .	[missing psalm]
Isten, én új íneket íneklek tenekeded, és tízhúrú kintornába dicsérlek tégedet.	[missing psalm]
[missing folios]	[missing psalm]
Dicséritek ő nevét karba, és dobban és dicséretbe dicséritek ütet.	Dicséritek ő nevét karban, és dobban és hegedűben dicséretet mondanak őneki.
Dicséritek ütet kürtnek hangosságába, dicséritek ütet kintornába és hegedűbe .	Dicséritek ötet kürtnek zengésébe, dicséritek ötet árpában és hegedűben .
Dicséritek ütet dobba és karba, dicséritek ütet húrba és organába .	Dicséritek ötet dobban és karban, dicséritek ötet lawthúrokban (f. 133r: lalthúrokban) és organában .
Dicséritek ütet jó hangus szavú cimbalomba , dicséritek ütet vigasságus cimbalomba .	Dicséritek ötet jól zengő cimbalomokban , dicséritek ötet vigasságnak cimbalomában (f. 133r: cimbalomiban).

SOURCES:

Apor Codex, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania, A. 1330; *Döbrentei Codex*, Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia, Romania, R. III. 76; *Codex of Keszthely*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 74; *Kulcsár Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 16; *Festetics Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 73. For the literal transcriptions of the codices see their edited texts: Haader *et al.* 2014, p. 44, 58, 65-66, 93-94, 101, 121, 149, 158, 161-162, 164; Abaffy, Szabó 1995, f. 40r-v, 49r, 52r, 52v, 58r, 64v, 67v-68r, 76v-77r, 85r, 88v, 98r, 107v, 112r, 113v, 115r-v; Haader 2006, f. 40r, 57r-v, 62v, 64r, 75r, 86r-v, 92v, 110r, 127r, 133v, 153v, 192v, 201v, 205r, 207r-208r; Haader, Papp 1999, f. 37r, 53r, 57v, 59r, 68v, 80r, 85v, 101r-v, 114v, 120r, 136r, 172r, 180r, 182r-v; Abaffy 1996, f. 20r/132r, 21r-v/133r.

Latin words in his text when unable to understand or translate them; nevertheless, his text is quite polished and elegant (Szentgyörgyi 2014, p. 39–41). L. Hadrovics demonstrated the influence of a German Gospel translation made in Bohemia on the Gospel translation of the Codex of Munich. Comparing the mistranslations in the psalms of the Apór Codex to some German and Czech language Psalters (cf. *Poděbrady Psalter*, *Wittenberg Psalter*), he reached the conclusion that the German and Czech texts contain several elements in common with the Hungarian text. The differences from the Vulgate texts occurring in parallel in the Hungarian and German, respectively in the Hungarian and Czech versions, or even in all three variants suggest that the Hungarian translators used the same Bible versions as in the German and Czech environments. The striking similarity of some German and Czech expressions to Hungarian ones may even suggest that the Hungarian translators prepared for their work in a German and Czech linguistic milieu (Hadrovics 1994, p. 95).

DÖBRENTÉI CODEX, a 1508 manuscript preserved in the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (shelf mark: R.III. 76), has

▼ Fig. 20. An angel playing a chordophone in the 14th century murals of the Hungarian Reformed church in Sântana de Mureş (Hung. *Marosszentanna*, Mureş county, Romania). Credits: Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu.



the translation of all 150 psalms. The codex contains mainly liturgical texts: biblical pericopes for the entire year, canticles and hymns, as well as sermons from the breviary. Its psalter also has a pronounced liturgical character, as the psalms follow the liturgical order, and the rubrics also refer to the liturgical role of the texts (Madas 2013, p. 200). The Latin incipit of each psalm is given to help the reader in identifying them. The codex may have been intended for a community of nuns or for lay users. It was prepared by a member of the secular clergy, Bertalan of Halábor, a priest and notary who studied at the University of Cracow in 1493–1494. He did not mechanically copy the texts from his source, but he often corrected and improved them, being probably motivated by his pastoral duties (Haader 2009, p. 63–64). The translation of the psalms in *Döbrentei Codex* is connected to the one in the *Apor Codex*. G. Mészöly argued that they had a common source (Mészöly 1914; Mészöly 1915; Mészöly 1917, p. 37–41), while A. Boros pointed out the similarities between the *Psalter of Bertalan Halábori* and the one in *Kulcsár Codex*, believing the version in *Döbrentei Codex* to be an earlier redaction of the psalter figuring in the *Kulcsár Codex* and the *Codex of Keszthely* (Boros 1903, p. 81–118).

CODEx OF KESZTHELY AND KULCSÁR CODEX. The Hungarian psalters preserved in the *Codex of Keszthely* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 74) and the *Kulcsár Codex* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 16) go back to the same, probably much older, original. It was probably copied for a female community of Poor Clares or Franciscan tertiaries in 1522 in Léka / Lockenhaus by Gergely of Velike, an educated clergyman. It was finished in 1539 by the observant Franciscan friar Pál of Pápa and was possibly meant for the use of the Beguines of Ozora. The Latin incipits of the psalms figuring in both show that Gergely of Velike was a much better Latinist than Brother Pál. Beside the Psalter, both codices contain the *Te Deum* and some short prayers, suffragia, and commemorations. The *Codex of Keszthely* also has several hymns after the *Te Deum*, while the same place is occupied by the Athanasian Symbol in the *Kulcsár Codex*. The *Codex of Keszthely* contains more suffragia, commemorations, as well as the seven penitential psalms at its end. Due to missing pages, Ps 146 is absent from *Kulcsár Codex*.

FESTETICS CODEX. A significant number of psalms figure in The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary translated for Benigna Magyar (c.1465?–1526), the wife of Pál Kinizsi (1431?–1494), a famous general and legendary warrior of King Matthias Corvinus. The *Festetics Codex* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 73), prepared in 1492–1494 by the Pauline Fathers of Nagyvázsony, is an expensive parchment codex with two richly decorated pages and 11 coloured initials. Modelled on the book of hours, this prayer book contains, beside the Little Office, the introduction of the Gospel of John, the seven penitential psalms in Petrarch's rewriting, and some private prayers addressed to Mary. From among the psalms mentioning musical instruments, only Ps 149 and Ps 150 appear in this manuscript, however they figure twice.

EDITIONS. The texts of all these codices have been published several times. Their best and most recent editions published in the *Régi magyar kódexek* series contain an introduction with a codicological, linguistic, and literary historical analysis (especially thorough in the case of the latest volumes), the photo of each page and the letter-by-letter transcription of the text. The literal transcription of the editions was transcribed here according to the modern orthographical rules.

16th-CENTURY PROTESTANT TRANSLATIONS. The variants of three 16th century printed Protestant translations have been added for comparison (*vide infra*). Despite their references to the Hebrew text, this new generation of translators did not directly translate from Hebrew. However, neither was the Vulgate version of the Bible the basis for their work. They used instead newly published humanist or Protestant Bible editions in which the Old Testament texts were retranslated into Latin from Hebrew. They also resorted to different Jewish and Protestant commentaries on the Hebrew texts. The first of these printed Psalters was published only nine years after the *Kulcsár Codex* was copied / prepared by the Lutheran teacher and minister, István Bencédi Székely, who studied Hebrew at the University of Cracow. His an-

notated translation was, first of all, a scholarly work based on Sebastian Münster's Hebrew-Latin Bible. A 1560 Hungarian Psalter was printed by Gáspár Heltai, who translated and published almost the entire Bible with the help of his learned colleagues versed in Greek and Hebrew. This translation was a truly Protestant edition relying heavily on Luther's Psalter, but with an application of the text to the Transylvanian Protestant community by the aid of summaries added to the psalms. Protestant in spirit was also the Hungarian Psalter included in the first complete Hungarian translation of the Bible prepared by a group of Calvinist preachers and scholars under the leadership of Gáspár Károli, the so-called *Vizsoly Bible* (for a general outlook on the early modern Hungarian Bible translations, see Ács 2017).

Musical instruments in the Hungarian manuscript Psalters (AK)

The preferred translation choices for the names of musical instruments occurring in the Hungarian translations of the psalms were *hegedű* for *cithara*, *kintorna* for *psalterium*, *kürt* for *tuba*, *dob* for *tympalum*, *orgona* for *organum*, and *cimbalom* for *cymbalum*. Some of these (*orgona*, *cimbalom*) are Latin loanwords, others are of a German (*kintorna*) or uncertain origin (*hegedű*, *dob*, *kürt*) (cf. TESz).

THE TRANSLATIONS OF CITHARA. The almost universal Hungarian translation of *cithara* is *hegedű*, a word which denoted a plucked string instrument of that time, although its present day meaning is 'fiddle'. Kesztk. and KulcsK. translate it as *vigasságom* ('my joy') in Ps 56:9. The translator substituted the musical instrument with a more abstract concept referring to the feeling which can be expressed by the instrument. Words derived from the same root occur when the translations copied in these two codices are rendering *tympanistriarum* in Ps 80:30 by *vigadó* ('celebrating'), or when translating *organa* with *vigasságtevő* ('maker of joy') in Ps 136:2. The latter stands in fact for 'musical instrument', a concept for which only such descriptive terms existed at that time. A treatise about the joys of heaven in *Sándor Codex* also uses this phrase along with *hangosság tevő instrumentum* ('sound / noise making instrument'), *hangosság* referring to music, as the contemporary word *zene* is an 18th-century creation (on the translation of musical terms in *Sándor Codex* see: Madas 2019.) In Ps 97:5, Kesztk. and KulcsK. omit the second mention of *cithara*, and give two renderings for *voce psalmi* instead: *kintornába és dicséretnek szavával*. The occurrence of *hegedő* in Ps 149:3 in FestK. suggests that the translator must have used Hebraicum (*in psalterio et cithara*) instead of Gallicanum or Romanum (*in tympano et psalterio*) (but a mixed / contaminated Latin version could have also been his source). Here, all other manuscripts translate *psalterium* (AporK. *zsoltárban*; DöbrK. *kintornában*; Kesztk. and KulcsK. *dicséretbe*).

THE TRANSLATIONS OF PSALTERIUM. The several layers of meaning in the word *psalterium* and its derivatives probably troubled Hungarian translators. The word is rendered several times as *kintorna*, a word of Austrian-Bavarian origin denoting a stringed instrument, but the second translation choice reflects the more general meaning of the word 'praise'. E.g. *dicsősejtés* (DöbrK.), *dicsőítés* (Kesztk., KulcsK.) in Ps 48:5. This choice is similar to the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* use of *sláva* and *chvála*. Further on, the DöbrK., Kesztk., and KulcsK. use a variant of *dicsőítő* ('one who praises, glorifies') in Ps 56:9, while the AporK. translates *psalterium* as *zsoltár*, a word borrowed from

German, just like its Czech counterpart. AporK. is faithful in its use of *zsoltár* for *psalterium*, but uses the verb *énekelni* for *psallere*. DöbrK., Kesztk., and KulcsK. prefer to interpret this verb by different conjugated forms of *dicsérni*, and waver between *kintorna* and *dicséret* when confronted with a translation of the noun. On one occasion, DöbrK. even uses the word *psalter* (Ps 107:3). A unique translation choice was adopted for *psalterium* by FestK. in Ps 150:3, *árpa* (*hárfa*, 'harp'), a word borrowed from Italian (TESz II: 59).

THE TRANSLATIONS OF TUBA / BUCCINA. The translation choices for wind instruments are straightforward. All manuscripts (except AporK.) prefer the Hungarian noun *kürt* for *tuba* and its denominative verb *kürtölni* for *buccinare* (Ps 80:4). The translator of AporK. chose the Italian loanword *trombita* (TESz III: 990). The occurrence of several Italian musical terms is particularly interesting, as the cultural and political relations between the Italian states and the Hungarian Kingdom were quite lively during the late Middle Ages. The interpretation of the *in tubis ductilibus* sequence (Ps 97:6) equally confused the translators. AporK. prefers the plain translation *vert trombitákkal* 'beaten trumpets', while the variants of DöbrK., Kesztk. (*viselő kürt*, 'horn to be worn') and KulcsK. (*viselem kürt*, ungrammatical from 'I wear horn') are rather confusing.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF TYMPANUM. All manuscripts render *tympalum* by *dob* in the translations of Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4, save for AporK. which uses the Latin loanword *timpanom*, but *tympanistriarum* in Ps 67:26 proved somewhat difficult to translate. AporK. resorted once again to a Latinism, creating first a verb (*timpanizálni*), then a participial form (*timpanizáló*). The translations in DöbrK., Kesztk., and KulcsK. substituted the difficult term with a different participle, *vigadó* ('celebrating, revelling'), thus preferring the secondary meaning of the verse over the literal one. A similar solution was used when the Kesztk. and KulcsK. translate *date tympanum* in Ps 80:3 with *adjatok hálát* ('give thanks'). Their version of the entire verse, using the phrase *mondjatok dicséretet* ('say praise') to translate *sumite psalmum*, is much more intelligible than the variant of DöbrK., which renders *psalmus* by *psalter* and *tympalum* by *kintorna* (the latter being a mistranslation).

THE TRANSLATIONS OF ORGANUM. *Organa* was translated by a Latinism (*orgona*) in all cases save two. Kesztk. and KulcsK. use the more general term *vigasságtevő* ('musical instrument') in the translation of Ps 136:2, as already mentioned in relation to the translations of *cithara*.

THE TRANSLATIONS OF CYMBALUM. This instrument is always rendered by the Latin loanword *cimbalom*.



▲ Fig. 21. King David playing the psaltery in the same 14th century murals of the same Sântana de Mureș church. Credits: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu.

CHORDA. Although it is not strictly speaking a musical instrument, two interesting translation choices for *in chordis* in Ps 150:4 must also be mentioned. Kesztk. and KulcsK. offer an exact rendering *húrba* (a change of case made the text more accessible for Hungarian readers), but FestK. introduces an additional element into the text, specifying that the strings in question belong to a lute (*lanthúr*). As Ps 150 figures twice in the manuscript, the different spellings of *lant* are easy to identify. The first one (*lawt*) reflects the original early New High German form *laut*, while the second one (*lalth*) already testifies to an intermediary stage of the word, later modified into *lant* (TESz II. 719). Another curious variant of *in chordis* appears in DöbrK. Its translator makes the same mistake as the Czech translator of the *Clementinum Psalter*, taking *chorda, -ae* for *cor, cordis* and translating it as *szívekbe* ('in hearts'). Could this be a mere coincidence? Considering László Hadrovics's research on the Apork., the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* (a text unexamined by L. Hadrovics) should be analyzed more closely in relation to the Hungarian translations, as they may derive at least from a common Latin biblical or commentary tradition.

Discussion

VA: From the point of view of the verses analysed in this study, and from other studies already on the subject, did these early Hungarian translations influence the later tradition of printed books? What is, for instance, the case

of the *Székely István Psalter* (Cracow, 1548)? D. Moldovanu stated that among the Romanian rhotic psalters, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (see the Romanian section) was in fact a re-writing of an initial translation made from the Hungarian *Psalter* of Székely István. For him, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* bears witness to many lexical substitutions and syntactic rearrangements, with the purpose of adapting the initial translation to a parallel text of Slavonic origin. The 'deceptive' Slavonic character of this Romanian psalter would be further amplified by the Romanian philologists' continuous comparison of the rhotic psalters with Church Slavonic versions (cf. Moldovanu 2009a, p. 108-109), and their ignorance concerning the Hungarian Protestant tradition. However, D. Moldovanu ignored the dating of the manuscripts based on watermark analysis and believed that the original text came from a Protestant milieu, suffering a progressive 'Slavization' from one manuscript copy to another. Nevertheless, apart from mentioning the thorny issue of the *Filioque* in the Romanian translation of the Athanasian Symbol copied at the end of the *Scheian Psalter*, D. Moldovanu provided no solid argument in favour of his Hungarian hypothesis. He presented a paper about it, but this paper was never published. It would be interesting to find out whether the Hungarian Protestant texts of the 16th century owe their readings to previous Catholic versions.

AK: In order to illustrate my answer to your question, I added three 16th century prose translations of the psalms prepared by Protestants: István Székely, Gáspár Heltai, and Gáspár Károli (the *Vizsoly Bible*). The verses containing the musical instruments illustrate the consensus in the secondary literature that the Protestant translators did not use the Vulgate version. They used instead newly published Protestant Bible editions in which the Old Testament texts were retranslated from Hebrew. Although an unknown

scribe introduced Hungarian arguments into the Apocrypha which are almost identical to those in the Székely translation and possibly stem from the same source, the psalm translations themselves are quite different. Among the early printed Hungarian Bible translations, only Benedek Komjáthy's Erasmian translation is believed to have been influenced by an earlier manuscript translation. However, he translated only Paul's epistles. At a first look, the Romanian texts do not look similar to the Hungarian Protestant ones.

István Benczédi Székely (1548)

Hálát adjatok az Úrnak **hegedűbe**, **nablomba**, és tízhúrú **kintornába** énekeljete nek.

És bemenék az Istennek oltárához, az én vigasságomnak és örömömnek Istenéhez, és hálát adok teneked én Istenöm, Istenöm.

Felmene az Isten nagy örömmel, az Úr nagy **kürtszóval**.

Hajtom az én fületem közbeszédre, és kijelentem az én mesémet **hegedűbe**.

Kelj fel, én dicsiretöm, kelj fel, **nablomom** és én **hegedűm**, felszerkenők reggel.

Elöl mennek az éneklők, és követik az **zengedőzők**, közébbe az leányok **dobot** vernek.

Bizon én is hálát adok teneked, én Istenem, az igazságodért, éneklők **zengő szerszámba**, éneklek teneked **hegedűbe**, ó, Izraelnek szentsége.

Kezdetek **íneket**, és adjatok **dobot**, és gyönyörűsége **hegedűt**, **nablommal** öszve.

Körtöljete az **kürttel** az újságnak innepén, az szerzett üdöbe és az mi innepünknek napján.

Kintornába és **nablomba** és minden **zengő szerszámba**, **hegedűvel** öszve.

Énekeljete az Úrnak **hegedűbe** és versőknek szavával.

Trombitával és **kürtszóval**, örüljenek az király előtt.

Serkenj fel, te, **nablum**, és te, **hegedű**, felszerkenők reggel.

Az fűzfának közepire felfüggesztöttük az mi **hegedűnköt**.

Isten, éneklek teneked vúj íneket, **nablomba**, és **kintornába** éneklek teneked.

Énekeljete az Úrnak hálaadással, mondjatek dicséretet Istennek **hegedűvel**.

Dicsírék az ű nevét az karban, énekeljenek űneki **dobba** és **hegedűbe**.

Dicsírékete űtöt **kürtnek** szavába, dicsírékete űtöt **nablomba** és **hegedűbe**.

Dicsírékete űtöt **dobba** és karba, dicsírékete űtöt **húrokba** és **organába**.

Dicsírékete űtöt zengő **cimbalomba**, dicsírékete űtöt jószavú **cimbalomba**.

Gáspár Heltai (1560)

Dicsírékete az Urat **hegedűvel**, dicsírete énekeljete űneki tízhúrú **lanttal**.

Hogy bemenek az Istennek oltárához, az Istenhez, ki én öremem es vigasságom, hogy tégedet dicsírelek **hegedűvel**, én Uram, én Istenem.

Felmegyén az Isten nagy örömdetes-séggel, es az Úr hangas **trombitaszóval**.

Példára hajton fületem, és **hegedűbe** jelentem bölcs mondásomat.

Serkenj fel, én tisztességem. Serkenj fel, én **árpám** és **hegedűm**: igen reggel felszerkentlek.

Elöl mennek az éneklők, annak utána a **hegedűsek** az ő **vigasságtövő szerszámokkal**, kezebbé vadnak a **dobos** leánzők.

Ennek okáért én is dicsírelek tégedet **hegedűkkel**, én Istenem, a te igaz voltodért. Mondom, **hegedűbe** dicsírete mondok teneked, te, Izraelnek szente.

Hozzátok elő az **arpat**, adjátok ide a **dobokat**, a gyönyörűsége **hegedűt** az **arppal** egyetembe.

Fújjatek **trombitát** az újhódnak innepén, a mi jeles innepünknek napján.

Lontban és **arppan** való énekléssel és mindenféle **hegedűkben**.

Énekeljete az Úrnak dicsíreteket **hegedűkben**, mondom, **hegedűkben** és énekmondásokban.

Síppal és **trombitaszóval** örömdettesek az Úr előtt, a tő királyotok előtt.

Serkenj fel, én **arppám** és **hegedűm**. Reggel felszerkentlek.

Az ott való fűzfákra felfüggesztők **hegedűinket**.

Úristen, új éneket éneklek teneked, a tízhúrú **arppa** dicsírete mondok teneked.

Énekeljete az Úrnak hálaadással, és **hegedűbe** dicsírete mondjatek a mi Istenünknek.

Dicsírék ű nevét csoportonként, **dobban** és **hegedűben** dicsírete énekeljenek űneki.

Dicsírékete űtet **trombitaszóval**, dicsírékete űtet **arppan** és **hegedűben**.

Dicsírékete űtet **dobbal** és egybegyűléssel, dicsírékete űtet **hegedűhúrakkal** és organákkal.

Dicsírékete űtet hangas **cimbalomokkal**, mondom, zengő **cimbalomokkal** dicsírékete űtet.

Gáspár Károli (1590)

Dicsírékete az Urat **hegedűbe**, **lantba**, és tízhúrú **kintornában** énekeljete nek.

Hogy bemenek az Istennek oltárához, az én vigasságomnak és örömömnek Istenéhez, és dicsírelek tégedet **örömmel**, ó Isten, én Istenem.

Felmene az Isten nagy örömmel, az Úr **trombitaszóval**.

Hajtom az én fületem példabeszédre, és kijelentem az én mesémet **hegedűben**.

Serkenj fel, én dicsőségem, serkenj fel, én **énekem** és **hegedűm**, jó reggel felszerkenek.

Elöl mennek vala az éneklők, azután **hegedűsök**, középpen valának **doboló** leányok, (ezt mondván).

Annakokáért én is tisztellek tégedet és az te igazságodat **énekő szerszámokkal**, én Istenem, éneklek néked **hegedűvel**, Izraelnek szent Istenem.

Vegyete **énekő szerszámokat**, vegyete **dobot**, gyönyörűsége **hegedűt** és **lantot**.

Énekeljete az újhódnak innepén **kürttel**, az rendeltetett innepeken, az mi innepeinknek napjain.

Tízhúrú **hegedűvel**, **lantval**, énekkal, **hegedűvel**.

Mondjatek dicsírete az Úrnak **hegedűvel**, **hegedűvel** mondom és énekléssel.

Trombitákkal és **kürtnek** zengésével zengjete ez Iehova király előtt.

Kelj fel, én **lantom** és **hegedűm**, felszerkenek jó reggel.

Az fűzfákra felfüggesztettük vala az mi **hegedűinket** Babilonnak közepette.

Isten, új éneket éneklek teneked, tízhúrú **hegedűvel** mondok néked dicsírete.

Énekeljete az Úrnak hálaadással, mondjatek dicsírete Istennek **hegedűvel**.

Dicsírék az ő nevét **síppal**, **dobbal** és **hegedűvel**, mondjanak neki dicsírete.

Dicsírékete űtet **trombitáknak** zengésével, dicsírékete űtet **lantval** és **hegedűvel**.

Dicsírékete űtet **dobokkal** és **síppokkal**, dicsírékete űtet **húroknak** zengésével és **organákkal**.

Dicsírékete űtet hangos **cimbalomokkal**, dicsírékete űtet vigasságtövő **cimbalomokkal**.

Ps 32:2

Ps 42:4

Ps 46:6

Ps 48:5

Ps 56:9

Ps 67:26

Ps 70:22

Ps 80:3

Ps 80:4

Ps 91:4

Ps 97:5

Ps 97:6

Ps 107:3

Ps 136:2

Ps 143:9

Ps 146:7

Ps 149:3

Ps 150:3

Ps 150:4

Ps 150:5

Romanian psalters of the 16th century - the *corpus* (AG, MU)

THE 'RHOTIC' PSALTERS. The first known translations of the Psalter into Romanian are the 'rhotic ones' (*psaltiri rotacizante*) - so named because they testify to a curious phonetic phenomenon, the transformation of the intervocalic *n* into *r* in words of Latin origin, possibly through the intermediate phase *nr*. These psalters date back to the 16th century and they seem to be related to other 16th century Romanian psalters (*vide infra* s.v. Coresi psalters). In the history of Romanian philology, these psalters have been the subject

of countless debates regarding their geographical location and dating, their status as copy or original, as well as their translators / scribes and the source of the translation.

The *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (PH) was copied in the manuscript rom. 3077 B.A.R. (that is, *Biblioteca Academiei Române*). It bears the name of the previous owner who donated it to the Library of the Romanian Academy. The manuscript has 134 folios, 125 of which contain the text of the Psalter. The last nine folios were added later and contain a typikon

	Psalterium Bononiense (tr. IC)	Voroneț Ps. Slavonic (ms.)	Voroneț Ps. Romanian (ms.)
Ps 32:2	Исповѣдайте сѧ господевѧ въ г҃жсѣлѣхъ , въ псалтыри десѧтъструннѧ пойте емоу	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 42:4	вѣниджъ кѣ ѡлѣтарю бжю, кѣ боу веселѧщѡмоу юность можъ, исповѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ г҃жслехъ бже бе мои	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 46:6	Възыде бѣ въ възсѣикновении, гѣ въ гласѣ трѣбнѣ	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 48:5	Приклонѧ въ притѣчахъ оухо мое, Разъгнѧ кѣ псалтыри гѧнание мое	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 56:9	Вѣстани славо моя вѣстани псалтырю и г҃жли , вѣстанѧ рано	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 67:26	Варишѧ кѣнази ѣдѣ пожштнихъ по срѣдѣ дѣвъ тѣпаницѣ	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 70:22	И бо азъ исповѣмъсѧ тебѣ въ людехъ гѧ въ сѣсѣдѣхъ ѡломѣсѣхъ, истинѧ твоѧ бже въспоѧ тебѣ въ г҃жслехъ стѣхъ излеѣ	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 80:3	Прѣимѣте ѡломѣ и дадите тѣмбанѣ , псалтырь красенѣ сѣ г҃жлими	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 80:4	Вѣстрѣбите на новѣ мѣсѧцѣ трѣбожъ , въ нарочитѣ день празника вашего	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 91:4	Въ десѧтоструннѣ псалтири сѣпѣснѧ въ г҃жслехъ	въ десѧтоструннѣ псалтири сѣпѣснѧ въ г҃жслехъ	în dzeace mațe psăltiriei cîntați în ceateri
Ps 97:5	Пойте боу нашему въ г҃жслехъ , въ г҃жслехъ и въ гласѣ псаломстѣ	пойте гѧи въ г҃жслехъ , въ г҃жслехъ и гласѣ ѡломстѣ	Cîntați Domnului în ceateri , în ceateri și glasure cîntecelor
Ps 97:6	Въ трѣбахъ ѡкованахъ и гласомъ трѣбы рожаны, възсѣикнѣте прѣдъ цремъ господемъ	въ трѣбахъ кованахъ и гласѡмъ трѣби рожаны възсѣикнѧте прѣдъ цремъ гмѣ	îm bucire ferecate și cu glasure bucire de cornu strigați între împăratu Domnul
Ps 107:3	Вѣстани славо моя, вѣстани псалтырю и г҃жли , вѣстанѧ рано	вѣстани славо моѧ вѣстани псалтырю и г҃жли вѣстанѧ рано	Scoală-te, slava mea, scoală-te, psăltire și ceateri
Ps 136:2	На врѣби по срѣдѣ еж ѡбѣсѣихомъ ерганы нашѧ	на врѣби по срѣдѣ еж ѡбѣсѣихѡмъ ѡрганы нашѧ	În salce prin mijloc de ea spîndzurămu organele noastre
Ps 143:9	Бже пѣснѣ новѧ възпожъ тебѣ, въ псал- тыри десѧтостроуннѣ възпожъ тебѣ	бе пѣс<нѣ> новѧ възпожъ тебѣ, въ псалтири десѧтостроуннѣ пожъ тебѣ	Dzăul, cîntecu noau cîntu ție, întru psăltire cu cîte dzeace mațe cîntu ție
Ps 146:7	Начѣте гѧи въ исповѣдани, пойте боу ншему въ г҃жслехъ	начите гѧи въ исповѣдани, пойте боу нашему въ г҃жслехъ	Începeți Domnului în ispovedire, cîntați Dumnedzăului nostru în ceateri
Ps 149:3	да възсѣалѣть имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тимпанѣ и псалтири да пожѣ емоу	да възсѣалѣть имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тѣмпанѣ и псалтири дапожѣ емоу	se laude numele lui în săboru , din tîmpănă și în psăltiri se cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите и въ гласѣ трѣбнѣмъ , хвалите и въ псалтыри и въ г҃жслехъ	хвалите его въ гласѣ трѣбнѣмъ хвалите его въ псалтири и въ г҃жслехъ	Lăudați pre-nsul în glasu de buciru , lăudați pre-nsul în psăltire și în ceatiri
Ps 150:4	Хвалите и въ тѣмпанѣ и лицѣ , хвалите и въ строунахъ и ерганѣ	хвалите его въ тѣмпанѣ и лицѣ хвалите его въ струнахъ и органѣхъ	Lăudați pre-nsul în tîmpănă și în zborure, lăudați pre-nsul în strune și în organe .
Ps 150:5	Хвалите и въ кѣмбалѣхъ доброголаснѣхъ, хвалите и въ кѣмбалѣхъ възсѣикнѣнѧ	хвалите его въ кѣмвалѣхъ доброголаснѣхъ хвалите его въ кѣмва(лѣ)хъ възсѣикнѣнѧ	Lăudați pre-nsul în clopote cu bure glasure, lăudați pri-nsul în clopote cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѣцѣ мои створиствѣ иерганы , прѣсти мои сѣставишѧ псалтирь	рѣцѣ мои сѣтвориствѣ ѡрганѣ и прѣсти моѧ сѣставишѧ псалтирь	Mîrlele mele feaceră organe și deagetele meale adură psăltirea

of the Gospels in Church Slavonic. The text is full of lacunae; several psalms and psalm fragments are missing. The most convincing hypothesis concerning its dating considers that it could have been written sometime before 1516, maybe even at the end of the 15th century (see Mareş 2001, p. 51, based on the analysis of the paper's watermark).

It was recently edited (Gheție, Teodorescu 2005), but our quotations differ from the edited version, due to a comparison to the Church Slavonic text. Furthermore, the editors made many interventions in the manuscript text, adding letters, syllables, and even entire words. For instance, in the

SOURCES:

For the *Psalterium Bononiense* as reference for Slavonic versions, see Jagić 1907, p. 146, 209, 229, 235, 320, 340, 395, 446, 469, 537, 647, 674, 687, 695, 697, 698, 699. For ps, see its manuscript, p. 95, 134-135, 147, 151, 175, 203, 219, 264-265, 302-303, 319, 364, 445, 465, 474, 479, 481, 482. For PH, see its manuscript, f. 26v, 36v, 40r, 48r, 56v, 61r, 69r, 78v, 81v, 94v, 116v, 121r-121v, 123v, 124v, 125r; as well as Gheție, Teodorescu 2005, p. 113, 123, 127, 128, 135, 144, 148, 156, 165, 168, 181, 202, 207, 209, 211. For PV Slavonic and Romanian versions, see its manuscript, f. 9r, 12r-12v, 20v, 39r, 46v, 50r, 52r, 53r, 53v.

Hurmuzaki Ps. (ed.)

Ispovediți-vă Domnului în **ceateri**,
în cântările a dzeace strune cîntați lui

Și întra-voiu cătră altariul Dzeului și
cătră Dumnedzăul ce veselește giunriia
mea. Spuniu-me ție în **ceatere**, Dzăule,
Dzăul meu

Sui Dumnedzeu în chemare și Domnul în
glasulu de **bucinru**

Și plecu în pildă ureachea mea, desfeci
în cîntare gîcirea mea

Scoală, slava mea, scoală, **psăltire** și
ceateră; scula-voiu de demîreață

Aflară giudeațele în margire cîntîndu, în
mijloc fetele de **tîmpăne**

Și бѣ eu ispovedescu-me ție în oaminrii,
în vasele cîntecelor adevărulu tău,
Dzeule; cîntu ție în **ceateră**, sfîntulu
Israililor

Luați cîntecul și dați **tîmpănele**, cîntecu
frumos cu **ceterile**

Bucinrați în lunra noao cu **bucinrul**, în
slavita dzi a praznicului vostru

în dzeace strune **orgoane**, cîntecele în
ceateri

Mai cînti Domnului nostru în **cetere**, și în
glasurile cîntecelor

În **bucinre** fărăcate cu glasul **bucinre** de
coarne chemați înraintea împăratului și
Domnului

Scoală, slava mea! Scoală, **orgoane** și
ceterile, scoală de demînrață!

În salce în mijlocul ei spîndzurăm
orgoanele noastre

Dzeule, cîntecu nou cînta-voiu ție, în
cîntari cu dzeace strune cînta-voiu ție

Înceapeți Domnului în spoveadă, cîntați
Domnului nostru în **ceateră**

Se laude numele lui în ceate, în **tîpăne** și
în **psăltire** se cînte lui

Lăudați-l în glas de **bucinre**, lăudați-l în
cîntari și în **cetere**

Lăudați-l în **tîmpăne** cetele, lăudați-l în
strune și **orgoane**

Lăudați-l în **clopote** cele cu glasure,
lăudați-l în **clopotele** strigariei

[should have been on the verso of a folio,
but it was not copied]

Scheian Ps. (ms.)

Ispovediți-vă Domnului în **ceteri**,
în **psăltire** cu dzeace mați cîntați lui

Și întra-voiu cătră altariul Dzeului, cătră
Dzeu ce veselește tirereațele meale.
Ispovedescu-me ție în **ceateri**, Dzeae,
Dzeul meu

Sui Dzeu în strigari, Domnul în glasul
bucireloru

Pleca-voiu în prici ureachiia mea,
deșchidzu în **psăltire** măiestriile meale

Scoală, slava mea, scoală **psăltirii** și
ceateriei; scolu-me de noapte

Ainte apucară giudecii aproape ce cîntă,
pre mijloc de feate **tîmpănă**

Că eu ispovedescu-me ție în oameri,
Doamne, întro vasele cîntarilor deade-
vărul tău, Dzeu; cîntu ție în **ceateri**,
Sfîntul lu Israil

Priimiți cîntecu și dați în **tîpănă**,
în **psăltirea** frumoasă cu **ceateri**

Bucinați în lună noao cu **bucinu**, în
nărocită dzi de sârbotoarea voastră

în dzece mațe **psăltirii** cu cîntece în
ceateri

Cîntați Domnului în **ceateri**, în **ceateri** și
glasurile cîntareei

în **bucine** ferecații și cu glasure **bucine** de
cornu strigați între împăratul Domnul

Scoală-te, slava me, scoală-te **psăltiriu** și
cetirea; scolu-me de demîneață

În salce pre mijloc de ea spîndzurăm
organele noastre

Dzeae, cîntec nou cîntu ție, întru **psăltire**
cu dzece mațe cîntu ție

Înceapeți Domnului în ispovedire, cîntați
Dumnedzeului nostru în **ceateri**

se laude numele lui în **zboru**, și în
tîmpănă și în **psăltire** se cînte lui

Lăudați elu în **psăltiri** și **ceateri**

Lăudați elu în **tîmpăne** și zborure, lăudați
elu în strune și **organe**

Lăudați elu în **clopote** bune glasure,
lăudați elu în **clopotu** cu strigare

Mînule mele feceră **organu** și degetele
mele adunară **psăltirea**

Romanum Lat. (ed.)

confitemini domino in **cithara** Ps 32:2
in **psalterio** decem cordarum psallite ei

introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui Ps 42:4
letificat iuuentutem meam confitebor tibi
in **cithara** deus deus meus

ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in Ps 46:6
voce **tube**

inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam Ps 48:5
aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam

exurge gloria mea exurge **psalterium** et Ps 56:9
cythara exurgam diluculo

praeuenerunt principes coniuncti Ps 67:26
psallentibus in medio iuuenum
tympanistriarum

et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmo- Ps 70:22
rum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in
cythara deus sanctus isrl

sumite psalmum et date **tympanum** Ps 80:3
psalterium iucundum cum **cithara**

canite in initio mensis **tuba** Ps 80:4
in die insignis sollempnitatis uestre

in decacordo **psalterio** cum cantico et Ps 91:4
cithara

psallite deo nostro in **cithara** in **cithara** Ps 97:5
uoce psalmi

in **tubis** ductilibus et uoce **tubae** cornee Ps 97:6
iubilate in conspectu regis domino

exurge gloria mea exurge **psalterium** et Ps 107:3
cithara exurgam diluculo

in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus Ps 136:2
organa nostra

deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi Ps 143:9
in **psalterio** decem cordarum psallam tibi

incipite domino in confessione Ps 146:7
psallite deo nostro in **cithara**

laudent nomen eius in **choro** in **tympano** Ps 149:3
et **psalterio** psallant ei

laudate eum in sono **tubae** Ps 150:3
laudate eum in **psalterio** et **cythara**

laudate eum in **tympano** et choro Ps 150:4
laudate eum in cordis et **organo**

laudate eum in **cymbalis** bene sonantibus Ps 150:5
laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis

[non-existent in the three Latin psalters' Ps 151:2
tradition]

translation of Ps 70:22, the editors mark a possible lacuna, but the manuscript presents no indication of any absent text. It is also worth noting that at the end of the same verse the reading is *Israililelor*, probably a scribal error. In Ps 91:4, the editors insert *de after strune*, an emendation that is not necessary. Furthermore, in the same verse, they add the preposition *cu* before *cîntecele*. Similarly, in Ps 97:6, a copulative conjunction (*și*) is omitted by the scribe and added by the editors. Last but not least, their reading *bunre* in Ps 150:5 does not exist in the manuscript. This is why we preferred a new transliteration directly from the manuscript.

The *Voroneț Psalter* (pv + pvs, copied in the manuscript rom. 639 B.A.R. – also in the Romanian Academy) was named after the monastery where it was discovered. It was dated to the interval between 1551-1558 (Mareș 2001, p. 51) and preserves only half of the Psalter, starting with Ps 77, with several lacunae. It is bilingual (Slavonic and Ro-

manian), with parallel text. It was edited (Giuglea 1910), but without the Slavonic text, and with the Romanian one in Cyrillic letters. We therefore chose to provide a new transcription for the needed verses.

The *Scheian Psalter* (ps, copied in the manuscript rom. 449 B.A.R.) bears the name of the one who donated it to the Library of the Romanian Academy. It dates back to 1573-1578 (see again Mareș 2001, p. 51). There are two editions of its text: a transliteration accompanied by a facsimile of the manuscript (Bianu 1889), and another one with a restored text (Candrea 1916). Due to these reasons, as well as for the sake of consistency, the transcription of the quotations is again ours.

These manuscript texts do not contain any data pertaining to their dating, geographical location, the person of the translator or that of the scribe copyist, nor about the source used in the translation. However, researchers agreed that all 'rhotic' translations of the psalms are probably copies

of a single primitive translation, whose autograph did not survive. Nevertheless, the filiations of these versions are difficult to establish due to their numerous copies and intermediate revisions. Their origin from a common source is proven only by common translation errors, omissions, and identical translation choices for various words. It is obvious that the source of these Romanian translations was Slavonic, as evidenced by the multitude of Slavonic calques and loanwords, as well as by the imitation of Slavonic syntax. The identity of this lost Slavonic source is still unclear.

A. Mareș notices (Mareș 2005, p. 276-277) the differences between the Slavonic versions and the Romanian parallel translations, both of them copied in the bilingual manuscripts, and believes that the original Slavonic source of the primary Romanian translation could have been a revised version of the *Mladenović Psalter*, dating back to 1346 (that is, the manuscript slavon 205 B.A.R.). He further argues that the Romanian text was subsequently modified due to comparisons with the parallel Slavonic versions transcribed in the bilingual manuscripts, and even with later versions. According to him, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* could be a revised version of the lost Romanian prototype, based on an old Slavonic version, different from the *Mladenović Psalter* text. All three 'rhotic' psalters are copies, and the source is said to have been a bilingual version.

There is also talk of a Latin source used in one of the successive revisions undergone by the initial translation. For the time being, this hypothesis lacks a convincing analysis (cf. Munteanu 2008; Pavel 2013). A third and last hypothesis is that the prototype of the three 'rhotic' translations could have been translated from Hungarian

	Ciobanu Ps. Slavonic (ms.) [acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	Ciobanu Ps. Romanian (ms.) [acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 32:2		
Ps 42:4	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 46:6	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 48:5	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 56:9	въстани славо моа въстани ѡалтирю и гжсли , въстанѣ рано	Scoală, slava mea, scoală, psăltiriei și ceateriei ; scolu-mă de noapte
Ps 67:26	варишѣ княси близѣ пощних по срѣдѣ двѣ тѡмпаницѣ	Ainte apucară judecii aproape ce cîntă, spre mijloc de feate tîmpănă
Ps 70:22	и бо азѣ исповѣмса тебѣ въ людех ги въ сѣ сѣдѣх ѡалѡмсых истинѣ твоѣ бе пож тебѣ въ гжслех стѣи ииль	Că eu ispovedescu-mă ție în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne, cînt ție în ceateri , sfîntul lui Israel
Ps 80:3	пріимѣте ѡалѡм и дадите тѡмпан ѡалтирь красенѣ съ гжслѣми	Priimiți cîntec și dați tîmpănă, psăltiri frumoasă cu ceateri
Ps 80:4	въстрѣбите на новѣ мѣцѣ трѣбож , въ нарочит днь празника вашѣго	Bucinați în noao lună cu bucin , în nărocită dzi de sărbătoarea voastră
Ps 91:4	въ десѣтостроунѣ ѡалтири съ пѣснѣи въ гжслехѣ	în dzeace mațe ale psăltireei cu cîntece în ceateri
Ps 97:5	поите гви въ гжслех , въ гжслех и гласѣ ѡалѡмстѣ	Tot cîntați Domnului în ceateri , în ceateri și cu glasurile cîntărilor (f. 89r)
Ps 97:6	въ трѣбах кованѣх и гласѡм трѣби рожанѣ въскликнѣте прѣд цремѣ гмѣ	În bucinele ferecate cu glasure bucine de cornu strigați între împărat Domnul
Ps 107:3	въстани славо моа въстани ѡалтирю и гжсли въстанѣ рано	Scoală-te, slava mea, scoală-te, psăltire și ceateră! Scolu-mă demîneața
Ps 136:2	на врѣби по срѣдѣ еж обѣсѣхѡм ѡрганы нашѣ	În salce pre mijloc de ea spîndzurăm organele noastre
Ps 143:9	бе пѣснь новѣ въспож тебѣ, въ ѡалтири десѣтостроуннѣ пож тебѣ	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ție, întru psăltire cu dzeace mațe cînt ție
Ps 146:7	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 149:3	да въсхвалѣт имѣ его въ лицѣ и въ тимпанѣ и ѡалтири дапожт емоу	Să laude numele lui în zbor și în tîmpăne și în psăltirie să cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите его въ гласѣ трѣбнѣ хвалите его въ ѡалтири и въ гжслех	Lăudați el în glas de bucinu , lăudați el în psăltiri și în ceateri
Ps 150:4	хвалите его въ тинпанѣ и лицѣ хвалите его въ строунахѣ и ѡрганѣх	Lăudați el în tîmpăne și zborure , lăudați el în strune și în organe
Ps 150:5	хвалите его въ кимвалѣ доброгласныхѣ хвалите его въ кѡмвалѣх въсклицаніе	Lăudați el în clopote cu bune glasure, lăudați el în clopot cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѣдѣ мои сътвористѣ ѡрганѣ и прѣсти моѣ съставишѣ ѡалтирь	Mînule mele feaceră organ și deagetele mele adunară psăltirea

copies of this text are printed in *scriptio continua*; the pages usually have 18 lines, with ornamented capital initials for the beginning of each psalm (in CP and CP2).

Of the three Coresi Psalters, only CP (1577) was completely edited: for the first time in 1881 (Haşdeu 1881), followed by a recent edition including the readings of the other two psalters (CP1 şi CP2) în 1979 (Toma 1979). I.-A. Candrea used CP (1577) for comparison in his edition of the *Scheian Psalter* (Candrea 1916). One should also pay attention to the editorial interventions, for instance in the text of CP (1577): Ps 32:2 (the *maŭe* reading was cancelled in the

print, with *strune* written above it), and Ps 80:4 (*buciaŭi* printed instead of *bucinaŭi*). In CP1 (1570): Ps. 91:4 (the same *maŭe* was cancelled, with *strune* written above it); Ps 143:9 (again, *maŭe* was cancelled and written above it: *strune*); and Ps 146:7 (printed *domnulu* instead of *domnului*). Finally, in CP2 (1589): Ps 42:4 (printed *vesendu-se* instead of *veseleaŭe*); and Ps 67:26 (printed *apucara* instead of *apucară*). In Ps 80:3 of this last version, the editor (Toma 1979) considers that the readings *trîmbitaŭi* and *trîmbita* may be errors.

In the bilingual Coresi psalters, each Slavonic segment is ‘sandwiched’ between the Romanian ones, without an apparent reason. When dealing with this Slavonic Romanian arrangement, I. Gheŭie believed that this may account for a didactic purpose of the print, the Romanian translation being used in order to facilitate the access to the Slavonic one, especially for the priests who used it during the divine service, but could not understand it (Gheŭie 1974:197). In his epilogue of the CP (1577, f. 312v), Coresi himself declares that the bilingual text was useful *preuŭilor [...] de înŭelegătură ŭi grămăticilor* (‘to priests [...] to be of use and learning to copyists’). A. Rosetti also believed that the Slavonic text justified the canonicity of the Romanian version, *pentru a risipi bănuiala de erezie* (‘to dispel any suspicion of heresy’; Rosetti 1968, p. 650).

As to the degree of faithfulness of the Romanian translation in comparison with the Slavonic text ‘sandwiched’ between its segments, the editor identifies several instances in which the Romanian text faithfully renders the Slavonic text both in terms of spelling and translation, others in which the Slavonic spelling differs from one edition to another, as well as cases where the Romanian translation of the same Slavonic passage differs from one print to the other (Toma 1979, p. 17 *et passim*). In the Coresi psalters, a particular Romanian word may render a variety of Slavonic terms (especially in CP and CP1), but there are cases in which several Romanian equivalents (far removed in terms of meaning) translate a certain Slavonic word (CP2).

As to 16th century Romanian psalter translations in general, research agrees that they are all closely related to one another, and that they are based on a specific primary translation made from a Church Slavonic source, lost today (Gheŭie 1978, Mareş 1982; for a possible Latin source used initially or in one of the revisions, see Chiŭimbia 1981; Munteanu 2008). Filiations are hard to establish, because of numerous copies and intermediate revisions.

	Coresi Ps. 1589 Slavonic (ed.)	Coresi Ps. 1589 Romanian (ed.)
Ps 32:2	исповѣдайтеся гви въ гжслехъ въ фалтири десето строуннѣ пойте емоу	Ispovediŭi-vă Domnului în ceateri , în psaltiri cu zeace struneacîntaŭi-i
Ps 42:4	и въниджъ къ ѿлтарю бжюу къ боу веселащомоу юнѡстъ мож исповѣмса тебѣвъ гжслехъ бже бе мои	Şi intra-voiu cătră altariul Zeului, cătră Domnul ce veseleaŭe tinereaŭele meale. Ispovedescu-mă ŭie în ceateri , Doamne Dumnezeu meu
Ps 46:6	[46:5] възыде бѣ въ въскликновени гѣ въ гласѣ тржбнѣ	[46:5] Sui Dumnezeu întru strigări, Domnul în glasul bucinelor
Ps 48:5	[48:4] приклонѣ въ притчѣ оухо мое разгнѣ въ фалтиригананіе мое	[48:4] Pleca-voiu în cîntări ureachea mea, deŭchiz în cîntări măiestriile meale
Ps 56:9	[56:11] въстани славо моѣ въстани фалтирю и гжли , въстанѣ рано	[56:11] Scoală slava mea, scoală psăltire şi ceateriei . Scolu-mă de noapte
Ps 67:26	варишѣ княси близѣ поющих по срѣдѣ двѣ тумпаниѣ	Ainte apucară judecii ce aproape cînta pre mijloc de feate tîmpăniŭe
Ps 70:22	[lacuna in the print used for the current analysis]	[70:25] Şi adecă eu ispovedescu-mă ŭie în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne. Cînt ŭie în ceateri , Sfîntu lui Israel
Ps 80:3	[80:2] приимѣте фалѡмъ и дадите тумпанѣ фалтирь красенѣ съ гжслѣми	[80:2] Priimiŭi psalom şi daŭi tîmpănă , în psăltire frumoasă cu ceateri
Ps 80:4	[80:3] въстрѣбите на новѣ мѣсець тржбожъ , въ нарочитѣ днѣ праздника вашего	[80:3] Trîmbitaŭi la lună noao cu trîmbita , în nărocita zi de sărbătoarea voastră
Ps 91:4	[91:3] въ десѣтстроунѣ фалтири съпѣснѣжъ въ гжслѣ ^x	[91:3] În zeace coarde psăltiri cu cîntece în ceateri
Ps 97:5	[97:7] поите гви въ гжслехъ, въ гжслехъ гласѣ фалѡ ^x стѣ	[97:7] tot cîntaŭi Domnului în ceateri ; în ceateri şi în glasurile psalomilor
Ps 97:6	[97:8] въ тржбахъ кованахъ, и гласѡ ^x тржбы рожаны въскликнѣте прѣ ^x пре ^x гмѣ	[97:8] în trîmbite ferecate cu glasure de bucine de cornu, strigaŭi înaintea împăratului Domnul
Ps 107:3	[107:2] въстани славо моѣ въстани въ фалтирю и гжли въстанѣ рано	[107:2] Scoală-te slava mea, scoală-te psăltire şi ceateră . Scolu-mă de demîneaŭă
Ps 136:2	на врѣби по срѣдѣ еж обѣсихѡ ^x ѡрганы наша	În sâlcı, pre mijloc de ea, spînzurăm organele noastre
Ps 143:9	бе пѣснѣ нѡвѣ въспожъ тебѣ въ фалтири десатостроуннѣ пожъ тебѣ	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ŭie, întru psăltire cu zeace coarde cînt ŭie
Ps 146:7	начнѣте гви въ исповѣдани поите боу нашему въ гжслехъ	Înceapeŭi Domnului în ispovedire. Cîntaŭi Zeului nostru în ceateri
Ps 149:3	да въсхвалѣтъ имѣ его въ лицѣ и въ тимпанѣ фалтири дапоетъ емоу	să laude numele său în glasuri şi în tîmpăne şi în psăltire să cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите его въ гласѣ тржбнѣ хвалите его въ фалтири и въ гжслехъ	Lăudaŭi pre dins în glas de trîmbite , lăudaŭi pre dins în ceateri şi ceateari
Ps 150:4	хвалите его въ ти^xпанѣ лице хвалите его въ строунахъ ѡрганѣ^x	Lăudaŭi pre dinsul în tîmpăne şi în glasuri, lăudaŭi pre dins în strune şi în organe
Ps 150:5	хвалите его въ ки^xвалѣ^x доброгла ^x ны ^x хвалите его въ ки^xвалѣ^x въсклицаніѣ	Lăudaŭi pre dins în clopote de bune glasure, lăudaŭi pre dins în clopote cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѣцѣ мои твористѣ ^x ѡрганѣ и прѣсти мои съставиши фалтирь	Mîinile mele feaceră organ şi deagetele meale adună psăltirea

SOURCES:

For the *Ciobanu Psalter* Slavonic and Romanian versions, see its manuscript, f. 12v-13r, 29r, 37v, 60r, 80r-80v, 89r, 111r, 156v, 168r, 174r-174v, 175r-175v, 176r. For the various versions of the Coresi Psalters, see Toma 1976, p. 142, 191-192, 207, 212, 242, 279, 296-297, 347-348, 392, 411, 411-412, 464, 561-562, 585, 595, 601-602, 603-604, 605.

Psalterium Bononiense as reference text for the comparison with Church Slavonic versions (IC)

The language of this mid-13th century version is the Church Slavonic of a Bulgarian variety. The version presents an archaic text, reflecting the primitive Slavonic redaction

known as the Pseudo-Athanasian Commentary. The text of the *Bononiense* is presented in the form of a chain (*catena*), in which the commentary follows each verse. Within its redaction, *Bononiense* forms a distinct subgroup with *Psalterium Pogodinianum* (12th century) and *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (11th century). To the same subgroup belongs the *Codex Bucurestinus*, herein referred to as the (Branko) Mladenović version, a psalter of a Serbian variety written in 1346 for Branko Mladenović. It presents a series of contaminations with the 14th century Mount Athos revision of the translation of the Psalter (MacRobert 1995; MacRobert 1998). The *Bononiense* was edited by V. Jagić together with the *Pogodinianum*. The readings of *Codex Bucurestinus* are mentioned in the critical apparatus.

Musical terminology from the 16th century Romanian translations (AG, MU)

Ceteră for the Church Slavonic г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃

For all occurrences of the Old Church Slavonic г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ (Miklosich 1862-1865, ‘κῑθάρᾱ, *citharā*’), the 16th century Romanian translations with Slavonic sources read *ceteră*. This translation choice also represents the first occurrence of the word in the Romanian vernacular. *Ceteră*, a doublet of the contemporary words *chitară* (from the Modern Greek κῑθάρᾱ) and *țiteră* (from the Hungarian *citera*), stems from the Latin term *cithera* / *cithara*, the instrument with four chords. It means a ‘hard to define string musical instrument, sometimes referring to a guitar or a harp’ (DLR, s.v.). In Dosoftei’s Slavonic-Romanian Psalter (*Psaltirea slavo-română*), *ceteră* appears again in the exact same context. This particular translation choice could also be attributed to the use of a Latin source (*cithara*). In Modern Romanian, *ceteră* is used in dialectal and low prestige contexts, meaning ‘violin’. Three Old Testament translations dating back to the 17th century use other terms in the same verses of the Book of Psalms. For Ps 32:2, the ms. 4389, from a Slavonic source, reads *vioară* (‘violin’); while the ms. 45 of the 1688 Bible, cf. MLD, from a Greek source, reads *copuz* (Turkic type of guitar). For the remainder of verses, the translation choice remains the same: *alăută* (‘lute’, for Ps 42:4/ 5 in all versions), or *alăută* (‘lute’, in the 1688 Bible, cf. MLD; ms. 45) / *lăută* (‘lute’, ms. 4389). Cf. the same translation choices for Ps 56:9/ 11, Ps 70:22/ 25, Ps 80:3/ 2, Ps 91:4/ 3, Ps 97:5/ 6, Ps 107/ 3, Ps 146:7, Ps 150:3). Of particular interest is the translation of the Slavonic word г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ in the 17th century Romanian lexicons based on *Lex. Ber.*: *Lex. Mard.* reads *г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ alăute* – in plural, *our note* –, *cobuz*; *г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ alăute*; while *Lex. Staico* reads: *г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ alăută nemțească* (‘German lute’), *г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ vioare* (‘violins’). One would therefore wonder why there is no mention of the word *ceteră*. Dosoftei’s late use of the term may be explained as a consequence of his reuse of the previous translations of the Psalter. The word’s absence from other 17th century texts with a Slavonic source may also testify to its dialectal use. In such a case, Coresi could have borrowed it from a source related to the ‘rhotic’ psalters. Moreover, the dialectal use of *ceteră* in the modern era is restricted to western Transylvania (see Scriban 1939, s.v.). Especially intriguing is its equivalence in the early lexicons, given the indications already present in their sources: *г҃҃҃҃҃҃҃*: *гарфа*, *цитра* (*Lex. Ber.*). Lexical attraction should have led to the use of the word *ceteră* instead. Its use in the ‘rhotic’ and Coresi psalters, as well as its subsequent absence in later texts, along with the Latin origin of the word, could there-

fore point toward the use of a Latin source in a certain evolutionary stage of the Romanian translation of the psalter.

Psaltire / *cîntare* / *orgon* (*orgoană*?) for the Church Slavonic фалтирь

Church Slavonic фалтирь is mostly translated by the Slavonic loanword *psaltire* in the 16th century Romanian psalters. DLR explains it with the help of *psalterion* (Modern Greek ψαλτήριον) and defines it as an ‘old string musical instrument, of a triangular shape, used until the Middle Ages’ (DLR, s.v. *psalterion*). Nevertheless, the very first mid-17th century Romanian dictionaries do not mention the ‘musical instrument’ meaning of *psaltire*, even though their source does (see *Lex. Ber.*). The only meaning ascribed to this term is that of ‘mind, true learning, daring; singing’ (*mentea*, *înțelepciune adevărată*, *îndrăzneală*; *cîntare*; *Lex. Mard.*, f. 240v); cf. ‘understanding of singing’ (*înțeleagere de cîntare*; *Lex. Staico*, f. 175v). The *Anonymus Caransebesiensis* (Chivu 2008, p. 89) renders *psalterium* by *harfă* (‘harp’).

In four individual contexts of РН (Ps. 32:2; Ps 80:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 150:3), Church Slavonic фалтирь is translated as *cântare* ‘song, singing’, a noun translating the second meaning of the Slavonic term. It is difficult to determine what exactly led to the use of another equivalent than the usual one, borrowed from Slavonic; one could even suppose that a previously unanimous equivalence by *cântare*, coming from the prototype of the Romanian translations, may have been removed or replaced during later rewritings. However, this hypothesis does not explain the third translation choice for фалтирь in РН: *organ*, also used in plural, *orgoane*, this time in Ps. 91:4. As a note, it is worth highlighting that this plural form points to a singular form *orgon* or *orgoană*, maybe a loanword from the Hungarian *orgona*. However, this plural does not refer to фалтирь, but to the Church Slavonic *ор҃҃҃҃҃҃҃*. Perhaps these alternative translation choices are determined by the imprecise terminology used to designate musical instruments, especially *organum* (Škulj 1998, p. 1125). Such instruments may not have been used by Romanian speakers at the time when the translation was made, thus explaining their treatment in the vernacular. Nevertheless, in this precise case, another possible explanation would take into account the particular meaning of ‘organ’ in northern dialectal areas of the Romanian-speaking lands during later periods (*vide infra*). It is also worth mentioning that РН (the oldest of the three ‘rhotic’ psalters) is the only text where these irregular translation choices appear.

Also difficult to explain is the rendering of **ψαλτήρ** by **cintare** ('song') in a single case of CP2 (Ps. 48:5). Perhaps this choice was determined by the collation of the older Coresi version with its parallel Church Slavonic text.

Strună for the Church Slavonic **строуна**

Another Slavonic borrowing is the loanword **strună** (Slavonic **строуна**, cf. Miklosich 1862-1865, '**νευρά, chorda**'), whose meaning in the 16th century psalters, Ps. 150:4, would be that of 'chord' (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v.). In this given context, **строуна** is thus translated.

Nevertheless, the adjective **десѣстроунѣнѣ** has been translated in many ways. In Ps. 32:2, the **строуна** from this adjective is rendered as **mațe** 'catguts' (**psaltire cu zeace mațe**), a word of Latin origin known since the 15th century (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v.), referring to animal intestines used as chords. This is the second most used translation choice (PS, CP, CP1) for the noun **strună** (PH, CP2). In CP, the word **mațe** is cancelled and corrected as **strune** in superscript, probably under the influence of the Slavonic text printed in between the Romanian segments of this version. In Ps. 143:9, nevertheless, the **mațe** translation is kept as such: **mațe** appears in most texts (PS, PV, CP, CP1). PH continues to translate it as **strună**, and CP2 reads **coarde** ('chords'), a word known since the beginning of the 16th century, this probably being the latter's first occurrence in the vernacular (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v. **coardă**). I. Gheție analysed the differences between CP2 and CP, noticing a progressive modernization of the text's language (Gheție 1976, p. 279; see also Toma 1979, p. 17, *passim*). He assumed that the CP2 text could be the result of collation of CP with the Church Slavonic version and with another Romanian psalter from the northern area of the Romanian lands. Ms. 45, which translates the Greek Septuagint in the 17th century, keeps the Slavonic loanword even though the Septuagint reads **ψαλτήριον** in this particular case.

Organ for the Church Slavonic **ѡργѧнѣ**

Church Slavonic **ѡργѧнѣ** (Miklosich 1862-1865, '**ὄργανον, organum**') is translated by **organ** (Ps. 136:2, Ps 150:5, Ps 151:2). DLR notices that this word first appears in the 'rhotic' psalters and interprets it as 'harp, lute, lyre' (cf. Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005 'musical instrument, especially harp') and proposes a multiple etymology (Slavonic **ѡργѧнѣ**; Greek **ὄργανον**; Latin **organum**). T. Alexandru mentions the organ among the chordophone instruments, considering it to be identical with the lyre and the lute, and used by beggars of northern Moldavia and Transylvania (Alexandru 1956, p. 125). This would explain the translation of **ψαλτήρ** by **orgoane** in PH (*vide supra*).

Bucium / trîmbiță for the Church Slavonic **трѣба**

The early Romanian translations of the Psalter use **buciu** (Ps. 97:6, Ps 150:3), from a Latin etymon, in order to translate the Slavonic **трѣба** (Miklosich 1862-1865, '**σάλπιγξ, tuba**'). DLR, s.v. **bucium**, considers that **buciu** (< lat. **buccina** 'trumpet') is the same instrument as **bucium**, and defines the two terms as 'a primitive wooden musical instrument (often made of lime tree, tied with cherry peels), with a hollow shell, in the form of a long tube (up to 2½ meters) which widens and is sometimes curved toward the end and produces a beautiful and resonant sound; at the narrow end, where it is blown, it has a walnut tub, called **țeve**; formerly used in wartime for (warning) signals; shepherds use it sometimes nowadays; **bucium** is used with the verbs **a buciuna**, **a cânta** ('sing'), **a zice** ('say'), **a sufla** ('blow'), **a trîmbița** ('trumpet')'. The sequence **bucinu** **ferecat** (Ps. 97:6) is

explained by DLR as 'trumpet', probably a reference to the fact that the (wooden) instrument could have been plated with metal (cf. **a fereca**, meaning 'to cover with metal'). The reading **ferecații** (ps) probably comes from a misinterpretation of the context by the scribe. H. H. Tiktin notes the meaning of 'musical instrument' in 1645 (in the **Șapte taine** 'Seven mysteries') (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005). The word **bucium** with the meaning 'log' (**trunchi, buștean bucuc**) is known since 1426 (Gherman s.a.). DER considers that it suffered an extension of meaning, since the instrument itself has the aspect of 'a thick branch or trunk of medium thickness, covered in bark, but cleaned of branches'. Last but not least, the word **buciu** from the early Romanian psalters could have been chosen due to an etymological attraction. The Latin word **buccina** (Ps. 97:6) appears in Hebraicum, but the Romanum and Gallicanum (alternate sources for the early Romanian prototype, later confronted with a Slavonic version according to Chițimia 1981) have the reading **tuba** (Ps. 80:4, Ps 97:6, Ps 105:3). Only the verb **a bucina** of Ps. 80:4 (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v.) may correspond to the **buccinate** of Romanum.

The Coresi Psalter of 1589 is the first one to replace **buciu** (Ps. 97:6, Ps 105:3) and **a bucina** (Ps. 80:4), words of Latin origin, with two translation choices inspired by the Church Slavonic readings **трѣба** and **вѣстрѣбите** from the Slavonic text: **trîmbiță** (from Slavic **trabica**; see Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005,) and **(a) trîmbița**. These Romanian vernacular terms first appear in the Slavonic-Romanian Gospels (*Evangheliarul slavo-român*) of 1551-1553 (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005). The 17th century first complete translation of the Septuagint into Romanian (ms. 45) maintains the use of **trîmbiță** and **a trîmbița**. As for Dosoftei, he makes a compromise. His text reads: **Bucina** **în lună noaă cu trîmbița, în bună-năsmnată dzua sărbătorii voastre** (Cobzaru 2007, p. 488 [3]).

Țîmpină for the Church Slavonic **тимпанѣ**

The 'rhotic' and Coresi psalters interpret the Church Slavonic **тимпанѣ** / **тумпанѣ** (Miklosich 1862-1865, '**τύμπανον, tympanum**') of Ps. 80:3, 149:3, 150:4 as **țîmpănă**, a word whose first occurrence in the Romanian vernacular is in ps. It is a Slavonic loanword (**тимпанѣ** < Old Greek **τύμπανον**) (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v. **țîmpină**). **Țîmpănă** (**țîmpină** in modern Romanian) is a musical instrument belonging to the category of drums (Alexandru 1956, p. 14). DLR identifies it with an instrument later known as **dairea** (a Turkic word describing an 'instrument similar to the tambourine'; DER, s.v.), as an extension of the words **tobă** ('drum'), **darabană** ('small drum'); it then refers to **țîmpan** as a 'tuneable percussion musical instrument, whose resonance body is a brass hemisphere covered with a tanned leather membrane more or less adjustable; when hit with drumsticks, it produces sounds'. The adjective **тумпаница** ('joueuse de tambourine, cymbalière'; Deschler 2003, s.v.) of Ps. 67:26 is rendered as **țîmpăn**, respectively **țîmpăniș** (cp2), terms that DLR interprets as early versions of the adjective **țîmpănăreț, -ă** 'the one playing the **țîmpină**'.

Clopot for the Church Slavonic **кимвалѣ**

All early Romanian psalters translate the Church Slavonic **кимвалѣ** (< gr. **κymballon**) of Ps. 150:5 by **clopot** 'bell', a term of Bulgarian origin. DLR defines it as a 'metal instrument, especially made out of bronze, cast in a conical shape, open to the lower end and hollow inside, with a metal clapper striking its sound bow'. H. H. Tiktin notices the word in ps but does not interpret its meaning for this occurrence (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005); the same dictionary registers the first mention of the word **chimval** in Lex. Mard. (1649).

Chimval (< Old Greek *κυμβάλλον*) replaces *clopot* in later translations, such as Dosoftei's Metrical Psalter (*Psaltirea în versuri*, 1673) and Slavonic-Romanian Psalter (*Psaltirea slavo-română*, 1680) (cf. Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, s.v.). If the 'rhotic' psalters were indeed translated from a Latin source (cf. Chițimia 1981), a reasonable translation choice through etymological attraction would have been *chimval*, as it would correspond to the Latin *cymbalum*.

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ms. 4389 – Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romanian manuscript no. 4389 [ca 1665-1672]; a complete translation of the Old Testament from Slavonic and Latin sources by a Wallachian

scribe (probably Daniil Andrean Panoneanu) in the second half of the 17th century.

ms. 45 – Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj, 'Blaj' files, Romanian manuscript no. 45 [ca 1683-1686]; a complete translation of the Old Testament made by Nicolae Milescu and revised by a Moldavian anonymous scribe (probably Dosoftei) in the second half of the 17th century.

Lex. Ber. – Памва Берында, *Лексикон славеноросский и имён толкование*, Kiev, 1627 (²1653, Kutein), <http://litopys.org.ua/Ber.lex/be.htm>; 10.05.2019.

Lex. Mard. – *The Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon of Mardarie Cozianul*, 1649; in the manuscript 450 of the Library of the Romanian Academy), <http://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-450>; 10.05.2019.

Lex. Staico – *The Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon of Staico*, after 1660, in the Romanian manuscript 312 of the Library of the Romanian Academy (f. 41r-216v).

Historical-contextual analysis of the 16th century Romanian musical terminology (ER)

CETERĂ. Throughout the entire territory of Europe, this term refers to the category of stringed musical instruments derived from the Greek and Latin etymons already presented, (Sagerman 1999, p. 79, 87). In the absence of a unanimous opinion regarding the definition of this instrument, it may designate the 'lyre' as well as different versions of the 'lute'. One could equate it with the Italian *cetera* (*chithara*; Vanzon 1828, p. 392) or *cistra* (Altieri 1749), the latter being essentially an Italian instrument, a product of the evolution of an older instrument called *citola*. It spread in Europe in the first half of the 15th century (Sagerman 1999, p. 84-86). Very similar to the Italian term, the Romanian one appears in the description of Camilo Cavriolo's embassy to Wallachia in 1603: *dopò questi con alquanto intervallo venuti Flauti, Cetera, buccine, e simil altri Musici Arnesi*" (*Historia della Transilvania*, Venice, 1638, p. 247-248; cf. Călători străini iv 1972, p. 320). In my opinion, *ceteră* is a mistranslation, the word most probably referring to an instrument from the psaltery group, with a resonance box and several strings (cf. *zither*). Anastasie Crimca's Psalter, created for Dragomirna monastery in 1616, shows two musical instruments – a lute and another instrument from the same family, with a slightly different shape, which is played with a plectrum and resembles a *cistra*. The number of tuning keys on the head of the instrument, which indicates the number of strings, is an important clue, as the lute has six strings, while *cistra* has three (for later representations of the same instrument, see Breton iv 1813, p. 138).

One should also consider the mural of Voroneț monastery, the place where one of the 'rhotic' psalters was preserved. It represents David playing a stringed musical instrument, probably a lute, because this instrument was introduced in Europe before the 10th century through Spain, and it was one of the most popular musical instruments in Europe during the 10th-16th centuries, until the emergence of the violin. If the Romanian translator were to look for a contemporary term, he would have easily chosen the lute, played by David himself in the Voroneț depiction. There are several mentions of the lute in documents of the 16th century. Some of them refer to the profession of lute player, as in the case of *Stoica alăutar*, *Rusim alăutar*, and *Tămna lăutar*, three Gypsies mentioned together with their families in a document of 1560 (DRH. A VI, 2008, p. 502-503). In the miniatures of the Crimca Psalter, David plays again the lute. Thus the *cetera* translation choice seems intriguing.

THE PSALTERY. Known under many names, be it *psaltery* or *kanun*, this instrument was similar to the modern santoor or cimbalom. It is believed that it was introduced in Eu-

rope by the Spanish Moors in the 11th century. The 14th century occurrences of this term designate an instrument with 64 strings (Farmer 1960, p. 445). In the original Greek and Latin translations of the psalters, this instrument refers to an angular type of harp (Sachs 1968, p. 115-116), but it is safe to assume that the 16th Romanian scribes did not probably imagine it as such. The first mention of the *psaltery* or santoor in the Romanian-speaking lands is found in the journal of Paul of Aleppo, in 1657, but the source does not provide enough information, so it would be safer not to choose between the two, even though I lean toward Paul having seen a santoor. However, these two instruments could not be interpreted as equivalents for the instrument mentioned in the Book of Psalms, as their adoption in the Romanian lands is of a later date. Although there is no conclusive evidence, the instrument referred to by the translator may be similar to the modern Romanian *țiteră* (*vide supra*). This other instrument belongs to the category of the psaltery, but it is smaller in size and very similar to the Italian *rotta* used by minstrels and troubadours, therefore similar to the angular harp. Current research considers that the *țiteră* could have been used well before our period, but there are no sources supporting this. One may recognize it very late, on the 1678 title page of Varlaam's *Cheia înțeleșului* ('Key to understanding'), where two musical instruments are represented: a cavalry trumpet and a *țiteră*. One of the reasons why it should not be mistaken with other chordophones of the same family is its ring used for hanging, which also indicates its small size, unlike the pan-European psaltery, which is a larger instrument, held on the knees while playing. There are rustic versions of *țiteră* too (see Cosma 1973, p. 101), whose shapes fit even better the description of the ten-string psaltery mentioned in our texts, but their presence or use in the 15th-16th centuries is undocumented. One may of course assume that this undocumented status could be a consequence of the perishable material used in the construction of rustic instruments, as well the lack of interest shown by medieval and early modern sources for rustic realia.

BUCIN / BUCIUM. The Latin terms *buccina*, *buccinus*, *buccinum*, *buccinator*, and *buccinare* appear in military or civil contexts (Ziolkowski 2002, 44). *Buccina* refers to a bronze wind instrument of curved shape (or a natural horn), with no clear distinction concerning its form (its late Latin use refers to all types of wind instruments), but traditionally considered to have had the shape of the letter G, while the second refers to a curved animal horn (Ziolkowski 2002, p. 47, for the synonymy). It is highly possible that *bucium*



and *bucin* are the same word, since this instrument appears in several official documents, under different spellings. Its description is correct (*vide supra*). I would add only a short description of the production method; the wood is split along the fibre, tied tightly with cherry or birch bark and fastened with metal rings (or wooden ones) (Bărbuceanu 1999, 39). Apart from the already quoted sources, its other mentions are rather late, in 17th century sources. Grigore Ureche describes the battle of Crasna (1450) mentioning that the Moldavian army had many such instruments (*buciume*; Panaitescu 1958, p. 80). The instrument may have indeed bore this name in the 15th century, because many diplomas mention place names with this etymon: *Buciumeni*, village in Suceava country (Moldavia), February 6, 1424 (DRH. A I 1975, p. 82), with six further mentions in other documents; *Bucina*, a village in Wallachia, November 12, 1510 (DRH. B II

▲ Fig. 22: Voronet monastery church (Suceava county, Romania. Exterior murals (ca. 1547). Last Judgement scene: King David playing a stringed musical instrument. Credits: va.

► Fig. 23: Voronet monastery church. Same mural ensemble: angel blowing a wind instrument. Credits: va.

1972, p. 171); *Buciumeni* and *Buciumi*, also in Wallachia (DRH. B II 1972, p. 276, 317, 391); as well as *Bucinu*, probably referring to a mountain (DRH. B III 1975, p. 349) or *Buciumișul* (DRH. B IV 1981, p. 135). The first patronymics with the same etymon appear in Moldavian Slavonic documents: a certain John *Bucium*, lord of Chilia fortress and member of the princely council, June 5, 1456 (DRH. A II 1976, p. 86). Wallachian patronymics include *Bucioaș*, June 6, 1570 (DRH. B VI 1985, p. 258) or *Buci(u)meanul*, April 3, 1571 (DRH. B VII 1988, p. 16).

The reading *bucinre de coarne* (PH) / *bucine de cornu* is also interesting. It is unclear why the translator did not use the more common word ‘horn’. This word was well known in Romanian-speaking lands and its meaning does not differ from the Latin *cornu*. It is mentioned by Anton Verancsics, on his way to Constantinople in 1553, in connection with the Transylvanian Székelys, who did not use ‘military trumpets, but horns’ (*Călători străini* 1 1968, p. 412). The Latin source of this quotation uses the word *cornu* itself (MHH SS 1857, vol. 2, p. 145). In Moldavia and Wallachia, one of the first mentions of the horn comes from Paul of Aleppo, who describes its use during hunting parties, to which soldiers took part (Feodorov 2014, 244).

ORG(O)AN. The Greek and Latin versions of the Psalms use this term to describe an aerophone instrument, in reference to biblical realia. Modern translations of the Bible sometimes interpret it as the modern bagpipe or panpipes (Cahen 1921, p. 74). In biblical contexts, it may have been originally used to designate a form of shepherd’s flute (Sachs 1968, p. 106). If the biblical context were properly understood, one would have expected a translation by the Romanian words *surlă* or *zurna*, wooden instruments often mentioned in historical sources and belonging to the family of oboes. The sound of the medieval oboes was high pitched and sharp, which led to their use in the princely courts, alongside trumpets (Gâscă 1988, 42). *Surlă*, a rustic oboe and similar to the Turkish *zurna* is a well-known instrument of the Balkans (Bărbuceanu 1999, 293). There are many mentions of these two instruments in Romanian historical sources, some of them mentioning them as etymons in names of professions (cf. a certain Mircea Purcel *surlariul* ‘trumpeter’, January 17, 1495; Bogdan 1913, 52–53), but there are no mentions of the ‘organ’, leaving this term open to debate.

TÂMPINĂ / TIMPAN. This other instrument is indeed a type of drum, duff, or the already discussed *darabană*, not to be mistaken with the various types of military drums, often mentioned in Romanian texts of the early modern period. Eastern peoples used it as the main percussion instrument in their music. It kept pace during dancing and it was handheld, for feminine use (Farmer 1991, 620–621), hence the *feate timpănă* from the Romanian translations. In the context of this quotation, the word refers to a dance of women, as represented in church murals, especially in the later depictions of Ps 150 (cf. Bobulescu 1940). *Timpane* may also refer to the *nagara drums*, used by Arabs in military music and already adopted by the Ottomans at the time when the ‘rhotic’ texts were transcribed (Rusu 2018, p. 365–366), or to similar instruments, of a hemispheric or conical shape, made of wood or bronze (Demian 1969, p. 39). Apart from a late mention in the Journal of Paul of Aleppo as *darabană* (Feodorov 2014, p. 244) and Ottoman references to the use of drums, *darabane*, and cymbals during a military expedition in Moldavia in 1538 (Guboglu, Mehmet 1966, vol. 1, p. 230), no other early mentions of this instrument are known.

CLOPOTE. The ‘bells’ should have been translated by *chimvale* (already mentioned) and *talgere*. As no specific percussion instrument is known to be used by Romanians, I imagine that bells must have been the closest alternative for a translation choice. *Chimvale* (the Arabian *zill*) were nevertheless used in Romanian contexts since the 15th century, and maybe even earlier, since the Ottomans appeared in the Balkans. When Moldavia and Wallachia were under Ottoman dominion, the sultan legitimized the Romanian rulers in a ceremony where *chimvale* were used among many other musical instruments (Rusu 2018).



Discussion 1 - *cîntare*

CMM: The use of *cîntare* (Ps 48:5) and *cîntarile* (Ps 32:2) in the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (cf. Ps 70:22, *vasele cîntecelor* in PH; or *vasele cîntarilor* in PS; etc) is comparable to the practice of translating *ψαλμός* and *ψαλτηρίον* in Church Slavonic Redaction IV and in Theodoret's commentary as *pěsnī* ('song') and *pěsnivīci* / *pěsnīnica*. These translations reflect an awareness on the part of the translators that *ψαλμός* and *ψαλτηρίον* are derivatives from Greek *ψαλλεῖν*. By contrast, as KV points out, the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* renders *psalterium* in a way which associates it with the extended meaning of *psallere* in Latin.

IC: The early Romanian translations of the Psalter are usually confronted only with texts from the pseudo-Athanasian redaction, and especially with *Codex Bucurestinus* (ms. sl. BAR 205). Al. Mareş argued that they stem from a common prototype translated after a Church Slavonic psalter belonging to the same family of manuscripts as *Bucurestinus*, but diverging from it (Mareş 1982; Mareş 1982b). He also argued that PH presents a revised version confronted with an older Slavonic psalter, probably one with a commentary: instead of the Ps 110 title, PH reads *Lăudăm Domnulu cel viu* ('Praise the living Lord'), which corresponds to the explanation of this psalm title in the *Vindobonense: Alliluië se tl'kuet se ubo hv(a)la živomu B(og)u* (Mareş 1982, p. 222). When confronting our data with the filiation of the Church Slavonic psalters (MacRobert 1998, p. 928; cf. MacRobert 1995), it is evident that the Romanian prototype has more common readings with the pseudo-Athanasian Commentary and with the Athonite redaction. Nevertheless, these texts do not satisfactorily explain the translation choices of the Romanian psalms.

The translation of *ψαλμός* by *пѣснь* in the Theodoret Commentary (instead of the common choice *псаломъ*) (Погорелов 1910a) may link the Romanian psalms to this other text. It should be noted that the choices *cântec*, *cantare* ('song', 'singing') for *пѣснь* appear both in the text of the psalms and in their titles. I therefore believe that the occasional use of the term *psalm* was introduced at a later date in the successive revisions of the Romanian psalms. It should be noted that the same translation choice derived from a probable *пѣснь* is used in other texts too. The *Bratu Codex*, written in Scheii Braşovului in 1650, has a curious reading in Acts 1:20. The 'Book of Psalms' is designated therein by the phrase *Cărţile Cântărilor* ('Books of Songs'), different from the *Cartea Psalmilor* ('Book of Psalms'), as attested in the same region.

Nevertheless, there are also differences between the Romanian translations and the Theodoret Commentary. In Ps 80:3 the Theodoret reading is *пѣснь* instead of *псаломъ*, but there is also a reading *бжбънь* replacing the expected *тумпанъ*. Since the Romanian versions use the word *tâmpănă*, it is safe to assume that their source would read here *тумпанъ*. The same goes for the reading *ародичие* (cf. Greek *συκκίμνα*) in the Theodoret Commentary (Ps 77:47), as it does not explain the Romanian translation choices either. The differences between the pre-Athonite and the Athonite Church Slavonic redactions are quite clear (MacRobert 1995, p. 208): PS reads *sicamenele*, very similar to the *сѣкамины* reading of the Athonite redaction (including *Bucurestinus*) and some variants of the pre-Athonite tradition, while the term *smochinele* ('figs') from PH and PV corresponds to *смок'вы* of the pre-Athonite tradition, represented by two Serbian psalters.

Should we then look for a Church Slavonic source reflecting both the Theodoret and pseudo-Athanasian traditions?

When following the well-known divergent readings of these two traditions (cf. MacRobert 1994), it becomes evident that *reonilor* (PS) in Ps 63:3 corresponds to *злюбившихъ* from the family of *Bucurestinus*, while *hicleaniloru* (PH) seems to be rendering *лоукавноующихъ* or rather *лукавыхъ* of the Oxford Slavonic Psalter, Pljevlja Psalter, etc., a family of manuscripts having common features with the Theodoret Commentary (cf. MacRobert 1995).

Some apparent interpretation choices made in PH may also be explained by the use of a Church Slavonic psalm commentary or a version derived from such a commentary, as it is difficult to accept the existence of free translations in a text where literal translation is otherwise consistently practiced. For example, *языци* is commonly translated as *limbi* ('tongues', meaning 'nations') in all early Romanian psalters. The PH readings in Ps 9:37 and Ps 77:54 are exceptions to this rule, since they speak of *păgâni* ('pagans'). The Theodoret Commentary establishes the equivalence between gentiles and pagans at Ps 9:37, which could explain this translation or, rather, the existence of a Slavonic source with this interpretative option. Nevertheless, another case of deviation from this particular Church Slavonic source is the rendering of *псалтирь* by *orgoane* in Ps 91:4 and Ps 107:3, unexplainable for the time being.

Discussion 2 - Slavonic and Latin sources

VA: From the analysis of the previous section of the study and by the look of the 16th century Protestant Hungarian translations, it is evident that the Romanian prototype could not be translated from a late Hungarian text. As already noted therein, the Protestants worked from new translations similar to Hebraicum. Maybe D. Moldovanu identified similar phenomena to the *buccina* of the Hebraicum (not the reading itself, which seems to be a translation cluster common to several Romance languages; see for this the French section). Other words would have led him to similar conclusions, such as *oltariul* (PS) and *orgoane* (PH; cf. the Apur and Döbrentei Codices, Ps 136:2 and Ps 150:4 for the use of this word in Hungarian), testifying to a Hungarian influence (either loanwords or basic phonetic traits), probably linked by him to the presumed Protestant origin of the Athanasian Creed in the *Scheian Psalter* (Gheţie 1973). However, D. Moldovanu didn't take into account that medieval Catholic psalters, both Latin and vernacular, transcribe it after the Old Testament canticles, at the end of the additional texts.

Nevertheless, he raises an interesting issue (Moldoveanu 2009). You already noted that when the Slavonic has *десѣтострунѣ*, the Romanian texts have *dze(a)ce maţe* (Ps 143:9), with a different reading sustaining the Slavonic influence in PH only (*dzeace strune*). The same *dzeace strune* (PH) / *dzeace maţe* (PS) appears in Ps 91:4, where PV has a lacuna, but the Bononiense shows us that the Slavonic has again *десѣтострунѣ*. Add to this that in this particular verse, the PH scribe (or his source) clearly missed the mark by using *orgoane* instead of the psalter, even though the Slavonic text has it as a constant reading; and the PS has a correct reading *psaltiriei* (the hypothesis that *orgon* would designate a chordophone, being the initial translation choice, appears far-fetched; see below). If the Latin source hypothesis were not discarded, as well as its later Slavonic collation, the PH scribe would be too busy making other corrections and changes to his version, inattentive to the rest, and maybe occasionally working independently from the Slavonic source, hence the errors (see the similar case of the Harley 273 scribe in the French section, who equally

made incoherent changes, including the ‘bells’ of Ps 150:5, similar to those of the Romanian versions; Agrigoroaei 2019). If we take a look at Ps 149:3, this hypothesis becomes ever more evident. The readings *zboru* (ps) and *săboru* (pv) coincide and make sense when compared to Latin *chorus*, while the PH scribe went in another direction (*ceate*). *Lectio difficilior* would dictate that *săboru* should be the preferred reading. I leave it to you to decide upon the nature of the link between *ceate* from PH and its Slavonic source, in connection maybe with the discussion about other odd translation choices for this verse already discussed in the French, English, and Czech sections. Further on, I will deal only with other possible evidence of a Latin source or one derived from Latin versions; and with the problem of translation clusters, linked to etymological attractions.

Tempting as it may be to derive the Romanian *bucin(r)* from a version of Hebraicum, because of its use of *buccina* instead of *tuba*, one should note that even Hebraicum has a reading *tuba* in Ps 97:6, so this is not sustainable. I believe this to be similar to the case of the French *buisine*, a translation cluster for several Romance languages and a generalised translation choice independent of the source. Should one interpret *bucinați* (Ps 80:3) in the same way, since Gallicanum reads here *buccinate* (but not Romanum)? The two words, noun and verb, were certainly linked, so a different explanation is not necessary. However, several other readings are not that clear.

Lăudați for *laudate* (all Latin versions) appears even in the bilingual pv, even if its Slavonic text reads хвалите. One might consider it to be another translation cluster, but then again, *inceapeți* (Ps 146:7) from all Romanian versions corresponds to *incipite* of Romanum and Ambrosianum (cf. начите in the Slavonic version of pv). Could all these readings be etymological attractions? Their number continues to grow when *ceteră* is added to the list, but this term raises a different problem. Even though it seemingly follows the evolution of Latin words in the Romanian language (cf. *circus* > *cerc*; *circellus* > *cercel*), *cithera* could never follow the evolution of *buccina*. It disappeared from Western Romance languages, and the first translation choice of those early Western versions was the harp. This may be linked to the representations of *citharae* in the miniatures of Latin psalters, where several chordophones appear, including harps. The word re-entered Romance (and Germanic) languages under pressure from the Italian language (cf. *çithara* of the Venetian Psalter and *cetera* of the Malermi Bible in the Italian, the latter with an identical form as the Romanian *ceteră*). But this happened only during the Trecento, as indicated in the French section. Nevertheless, Italian had a different relation with Latin; it continuously reshaped its high prestige and literary variety via loanwords from the Latin vocabulary, and the use of the words having ‘cithera’ as etymon (excluding the inherited *cistre* or *citolle*) may indicate either a high prestige variety of language, or a loanword. The Romanian case seems extremely odd from this point of view, because it uses a word it should not have used.

Other ‘rhotic’ Romanian translation choices may equally be derived from Latin (Ps 48:5, Ps 136:2), even though the Slavonic versions have the same readings, as they are using loanwords, and matters are impossible to decide, probably because the syntax of Psalter translations is assiduously copied from their sources, in turn taking after the Septuagint (cf. Slavonic versions, Romanum, and Gallicanum). From a Latin standpoint, the source could be a manuscript with mixed readings of Gallicanum and Romanum, but mixed versions such as this come in countless

numbers. Some of them have also readings of Hebraicum, which muddies the waters. As if matters weren’t complicated enough, identifying possible Latin readings does not automatically mean that the so-called Romanian prototype had to be translated from Latin. The present study already shows, on the one hand, that there are several cases of intravernacular translations (French > Middle English; Czech > Hungarian). On the other hand, I have already stated that medieval Romanians came in contact with many other vernacular speakers (of Czech, Hungarian, but also Italian origin) whose influence could have ignited the first Romanian translations of the Psalter, especially in Banat and Hunedoara, where Romanian medieval communities were mixed, Orthodox and Catholic, and blended with both Hungarians and Serbs (Agrigoroaei 2018).

The presumable Hungarian phonetics of ‘orgon’ from PH may be equally explained according to this theory. It matters less here that this Hungarian-influenced reading comes from PH, being absent in the other two ‘rhotic’ psalters that I preferred until now. Human beings are not machines, perfectly replicating the exact same set of phonetic, morphological, syntactic or lexical traits, and the scripta of a copyist reflects an amalgamation of traits with various origins. Nevertheless, if the prototype of these translations was indeed created in Banat or Hunedoara, the explanation based on the chordophone used by the beggars of Moldavia simply does not make sense. If the late 15th-early 16th century angel painted in the murals of Chimindia (Hunedoara county, Catholic church of a Hungarian community) plays a portable organ, identical to those from the entire Western Europe, this means that the locals had a good idea as to what this instrument was, even though they may not have seen one in reality. Therefore, it would be absurd to consider that the Hungarians of Chimindia knew what the organ was,

▼ Fig. 24. Angel playing the harp in a late 15th-early 16th layer of painting in the church of Chimindia (Hung. Kéménd, Hunedoara county, Romania). Credits: va.



but their Romanian neighbours living two or three kilometres away used this word to refer to a string instrument. From the point of view of realia, the 15th century Romanians living in the region of Hunedoara had more in common with their Hungarian neighbours than with the early modern Moldavian beggars who could have simply misused this term. The Romanian elite of Banat and Hunedoara was often bilingual, and the Hungarian noblemen of Chimindia intermarried with Romanian knezes from their region (Burnichioiu 2009, p. 347 *et passim*). But this may be applied to other instruments as well. The Chimindia murals equally present us with depictions of the psalter and many other instruments that the locals were familiar with. This means that the Romanian prototype of the ‘rhotic’ psalters and its lost antigraphs were intended to be read by completely different people than those to whom the later apographs (the three ‘rhotic’ manuscripts known today) were addressed to. The dialectal layers identifiable in the scriptae of the three 16th century manuscripts should be equally analysed from a realia point of view. In this case, the presence of words like *ispovedire* (Ps 146:7) indeed look like loanwords from Slavonic (исповѣдани), but they do not guarantee that the prototype was translated from a Slavonic source. We know nothing about this autograph or his antigraphs. I believe that our data points to a richer linguistic context, and not necessarily to a clear confessional choice between Orthodox (Slavonic) and Catholic (Latin). Matters can be complex, varied, and especially layered.

MU: I am not necessarily rejecting the idea that the reading *orgoanele* in PH, Ps. 91: 4, is the result of a scribal error /

intervention, but I believe that scribes did not have a clear representation (as we do today) of the realia behind the words they were copying. *Organ* is a contextual loan from the Slavonic text and they could have borrowed it in absence of a clear representation of the designated object (apart from its generic classification as musical instrument). The DLR meaning of ‘harp, lute, lyre’ is indeed a modern interpretation, but this does not mean that the organ could not have designated a stringed instrument. Alexandru located this meaning in northern Moldavia and Transylvania, that is, in the area where it was assumed (in his time) that the ‘rhotic’ psalters were copied), but he does not back this interpretation with references to his sources (Alexandru 1956, p. 125). His interpretation of organ as a stringed instrument is supported by Dosoftei’s Metrical Psalter (1673), where the corresponding sequence of Ps 150:4 speaks indeed of the organ in this way: *Lăudați pre toate locuri / Cu timpene și cu giocuri, / Lăudați-l să răsună / În orgoane tinse-n strune* (‘Praise ye in all places / With timpani and delights, / Praise him to be heard / In organs with tuned strings’; Ursu 1974, p. 1055). Since the metrical adaptation of Dosoftei cannot be equated with a faithful translation, Dosoftei’s interpretation presents us with an insight into what the term *organ* really designated in his time, independently from the Slavonic influence of a source text (an instrument in general, or a stringed instrument in particular).

AMG: If the PH translation choice Ps 91:4 were a scribal error, it would occur once in the PH text. Nevertheless, the term *фалтыри* is again interpreted as *orgoane* in Ps 107:3. A first guess would be that this choice was probably determined by the scribe’s own representation of what Church Slavonic *фалтыри* meant. In this case, Alexandru’s hypothesis should not be rejected, but his sources should be identified and evaluated nevertheless. A second guess would be that the Slavonic source consulted by the PH scribe read here *сѣрганы*, but such a version needs to be identified as well.

► Fig. 25. Arbore church (Suceava county, Romania). Murals on the Western wall of the nave (soon after 1503). Musical instruments in the Derision of Christ. Credits: Radu Oltean.



Discussion 3 - *bucin* / *a bucina*

va: Some aspects in the analysis of the term *bucin* are still wanting. If the simultaneous use of *bucin* and *bucium* is confirmed since the 15th and 16th century, I am wondering whether they refer to different instruments (1), different dialectal backgrounds (2), or different diastatic / diaphasic contexts (3). Option 1 is the less probable one among the three. The place-names and patronymics quoted above in the historical-contextual analysis show that *bucium* originally characterizes Moldavia, and that it was gradually introduced in Wallachia, where the etymon *bucin* / *bucim* was still present at the beginning of the 16th century. Our discussion should therefore expand toward the uses of the word in other Romanian-speaking areas.

In a short article dedicated to the term *bucin* and its denominative verb, T. Teaha lists its use in the rhotic psalters, in Coresi's prints, in the *Orăștie Pălia* (1582), in Dosoftei's texts (17th century), and in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* (1651, in odd rhotic contexts), as well as in the *1688 Bible*, but he does not explain its disappearance from later literary texts. The last literary mention in his study is that of Petru Maior, but T. Teaha does not contextualize it according to a dialectal point of view either. Instead, he notes that the late mentions of *bucin* and its derivatives appear only in various parts of Transylvania. Finally, he deals with Romance words having the same etymon, especially in the Italian dialects and in the Friulan language (Teaha 1992). This Transylvanian use is particularly revealing; a first hypothesis would be that the presence of *bucin* in the literary texts quoted above was determined by the influence of the rhotic psalters in the early stages of Romanian literature (either directly or through Coresi's rewriting). This explains the late uses of the word by Dosoftei, whose language was rich in diaphasic levels.

If we ignore Dosoftei's translations and adaptations of the psalms and look at his other works, our words appear in interesting contexts: *bucinaț cu bucini în Sion...* ('blow the trumpets of Sion'); *și Domnul Dumnădzău totputearnicul în trîmbiță va bucina...* ('and Lord God the almighty will blow the trumpet'); *cu strigare și de bucîn glas* ('with the loud voice of a trumpet'); *cîntări și (...) urlete de trîmbite și bucine și cîntări îngerești* ('songs and (...) trumpet cries, and trumpets, and angelic singing'); *acicea arată trîmbite și bucinele și toată mulțimea de muzică* ('here it shows the trumpets, and the trumpets, and all sorts of music'); *S Stridulia tum cverulium sonitum tuba fundet olimbo, / Zbierătoriu atunce groaznic sunet bucînul va da din ceriu* ('the trumpet will then give a howling and fearful sound in heaven') (Ungureanu 2012, p. 101, 167, 227, 228, 224, 287). Dosoftei clearly uses the term *bucin* and its denominative verb as synonyms of the Slavonic loanword *trîmbiță* ('trumpet'), but he seems to be more at ease with the use of *trîmbiță* than *bucin*. In his text, *bucin* is used alone only in contexts where references to the Psalms or Revelation are evident. This confirms the previous assumption that the use of *bucin* and *bucina* should be identified with a certain diaphasic level.

Nevertheless, other uses (such as those in the *Orăștie Pălia*) should be linked to 16th-17th century dialectal contexts. In later times, the rhotic variant of the verb (*bucira*) suffered a transfer of meaning, being equally used to describe the wolf's howl in the dialects of Western Carpathians (Petrovici 1935, p. 158), as well as a baby's cry or all types of cry. The 1650 glossary of *Anonymus Caranssebiensis* (Banat) mentions the words *bucin* (noun) and *bucina* (verb), whom the modern editor of this text considers to be inherited words in the language, later disappeared or preserved only regionally (Chivu 2008). I believe that this disappearance and

transfer of meaning was well started by 1650, since John Viski, translator of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter into Romanian (Hunedoara county, 1697), used the Slavonic loanword *trîmbite* and not the local word *bucin* in his adaptation of Ps 150: *Lăudați-l en trîmbite* ('Praise him in trumpets'; transcription by A. Dumitran, see *Adendum*).

This means that the mentions of *bucin* in late 17th century Transylvanian Romanian literary texts could be due to the literary influence of the old rhotic psalters, and maybe to the influence of other rhotic texts. When making this assumption, I am thinking of the *Sturdzanus Codex* readings, unknown to T. Teaha. *Sturdzanus* is a goldmine for the history of Romanian culture. As a side note, I already used its texts in an article dealing with the murals of the Leșnic church (15th century, Hunedoara county, Romania), in connection with the very first endogenous use of a Romanian word in the inscriptions of that church (cf. Agrigoroaei 2015), especially the homiletic 'Thoughts at the hour of death' (*Cugetări în ora morții*).

The many scriptae and many groups of texts of this miscellanea transcribed in 1580-1619 testify to a yet unclear mixture of overlapping dialectal strata, so it is ill advised to draw firm conclusions based on its readings. Nevertheless, there are three occurrences of the verb *bucina* in *Codex Sturdzanus* and they are particularly revealing for this analysis. For instance, in the third section of the same 'Thoughts...', certain phrases are adaptations of verses from the Revelation, some of them using the verb *bucina*: *Iară cîndu voru bucina arhanghelii spre patru cornure a pămîntului, de trei ori cu frică și bură mare, pămîntul se va cutremura den toate capetele. [...] Atunci se va deschide poarta ceriului despre răsărit și se va ivi împăratul Hristos, cum grăiește prorocul, și va bucina și va aprinde focu cu mare bură și cu mare tresnetu. [...]* ('And when the angels will blow [their trumpets] to the four corners of the earth, three times in fear and with great storm, all the earth's ends will tremble. [...] Then the eastern gate of heaven will be open and the emperor Christ will appear, as told by the prophet, and he will blow [the trumpet] and light a fire with great storm and with great thunder') (Chivu 1993, p. 263-264; or f. 41r, line 13, and f. 42v, line 10). The influence of a Latin source cannot be argued here, as the Vulgate text never uses the verb *buccinare*, only *canere tuba*. But the third and last mention of the Romanian verb *bucina* appears in a similar context, in the apocryphal Apocalypse of the Virgin. A Romanian version of it was copied in the same codex as 'A word about a walk with torments' (*Cuvîntu de îmblare pre la munci*). This other passage reads: *Bucură-te, arhanghele, că tu veri bucina la giudețu și veri deștepta adormiții din veacu!* ('Rejoice, archangel, for you will blow [the trumpet] during judgement and you will wake up those forever asleep') (Chivu 1993, p. 249; or f. 17r, line 10). These are the only occurrences of this verb in the entire *Codex Sturdzanus*, and they show that *bucin* and *bucina* were automatisms already present in the language.

Yet, both the homiletic 'Thoughts...' and the apocryphal 'Word...' belong to the rhotic group of texts copied in that manuscript. The presence of the same group of texts in two other manuscripts, with the same *bucina* readings (*Todorescu Codex* and *Martian Codex*), points to the independent circulation of this rhotic group of texts well before their transcription in *Sturdzanus* (see Drăganu 1914, p. 200-201, 215 for their readings of the passages quoted above). According to Gh. Chivu, the texts that interest us here were transcribed by the *Sturdzanus* Scribe D, a speaker of the northern dialect of the Romanian language, but his source must have been written in the dialect of Banat, Hunedoara

county, or even Walachia (Chivu 1993, p. 67-70), as testified by rare rhotic phonetic aspects of the ‘Thoughts at the hour of death’ and several lexical choices. Since the three mentions of the verb *bucina* appear in texts copied by this scribe only, they probably came from a rhotic source, as they appear nowhere else in the manuscript. And since Scribe D copied these texts soon after 1590-1602 (based on watermark analysis; cf. Chivu 1993, p. 49), shortly after the printing of the *Orăștie Palia* and other texts showing traces of the dialect of Banat and Hunedoara, it is safe to assume that all these texts bore the literary imprint of the early rhotic psalters. These psalters probably shaped an early version of the Romanian literary language, later to be discarded in favour of other dialects, and their role is very similar to the one played by the Anglo-Norman psalters in the evolution of the French literary language. It should not surprise us that the French texts influenced by early Anglo-Norman psalters also use the term *buisine* and its denominative verb *buisiner* instead of *trumpe*, the preferred reading of Continental French. I therefore believe that the use of the term *bucin* and its denominative verb is a reflex of this old literary dialect from Banat and Hunedoara.

Addendum: Ps 150 in Viski’s adaptation of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter (transcription by Ana Dumitran):

Psalmus CL

Dicsirjétek az Urat.

Præ Domn Dumnedzeu læudacz

Voja a luj alduicz

Læudacz cserurj ennalte

Unde jel sze Domneste

En mare færikecsune

Læudacz mare putere-j

De unde lauda a luj

2. *Læudați-l en træmbite*

Si en kæntacz frumosze

En laut si en laute

Ke szunend en cythere

Domnuluj reszunaczi-ve

En virgina-n symphone

En szirurj szunetore

Lu Dumnedzeu veszeliczive

3. *Præ Domnul en szanture*

En szirur de tote fele

En cytheræ reszunacz

Laudend numele Domnuluj

Si rediturj szufletest

Laude præ Domnul mare

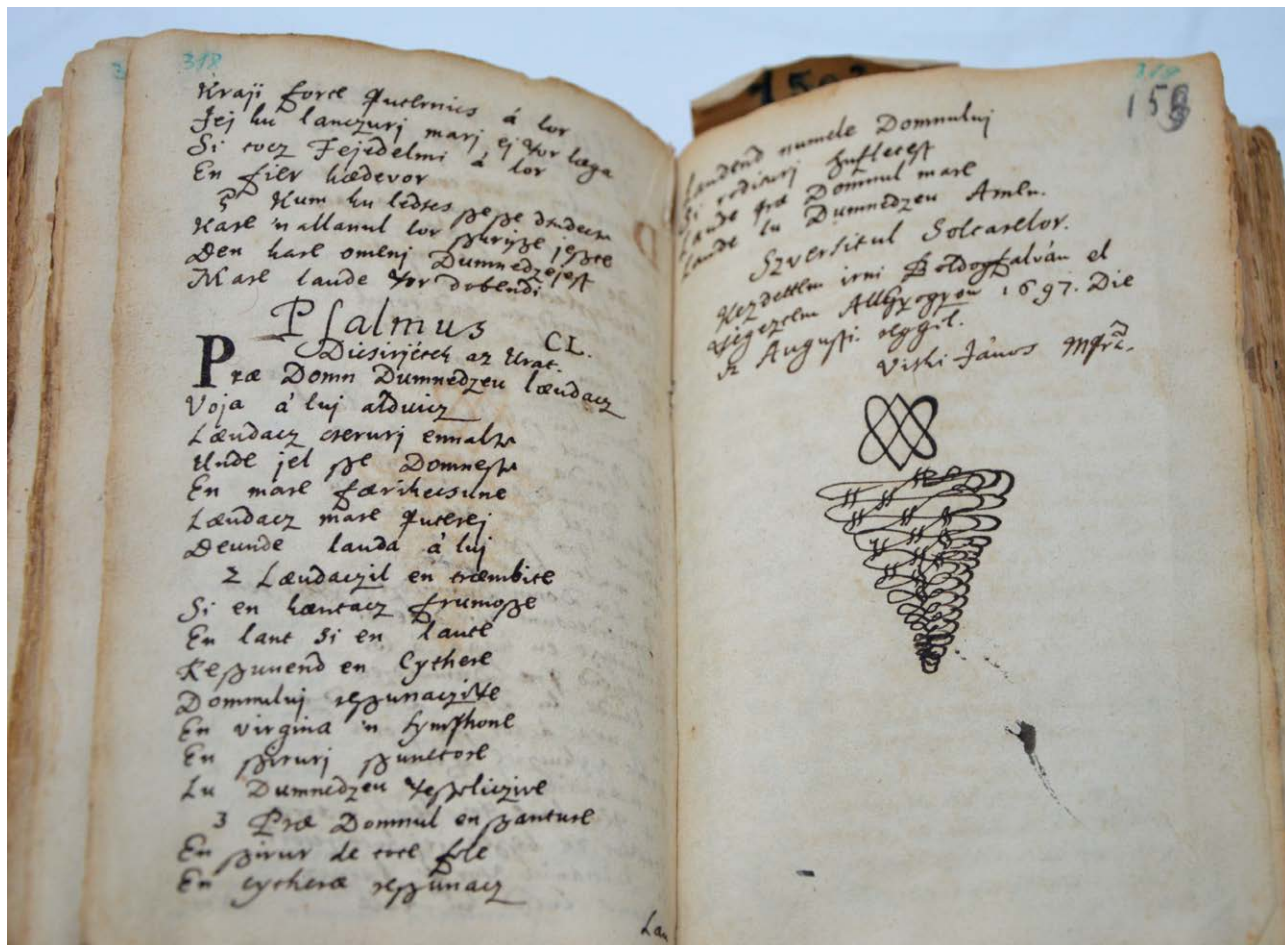
Laude lu Dumnedzeu Amen.

Szversitul Soltarelor

Kezdettem irni Boldogfalván el végeztem AllGyogyon 1697

Die 12 Augusti reggel.

Viski János m(anu) p(rop)ria



Discussion 4 - *giudeci*

VA: Not related to the translation choices for the musical instruments, but extremely relevant to the debate concerning the geographical location of the rhotic prototype is the use of the words *giudeațe* (PH) and *giudeci* (PS) at the beginning of Ps 67:26. In this particular case, *giudeațe* seems to be a scribal error, very similar to an unwitting type of error, but nevertheless curious as such types of errors concern the beginning or the ending of a word, and not its ending. If we accept that *giudeci* is the correct translation choice (very similar in meaning to both Slavonic *кѣнази* (*kŭnezŭ*) and Latin *principes*), then we are faced with a puzzle: why did the Romanian translator not use the word *cnezi*, the coherent translation choice, as it was available in the source and target languages, with an identical meaning?

This looks like an echo of curious phenomena already present in the vernacular well before Romanian became a written language (for similar cases in Carolingian France, see the works of Michel Banniard). To me, *giudeci* may be already noticeable in a complaint addressed by several inhabitants of Remetea (Banat) to the wife of Benedict Himfi, their lord (late 14th century). Among the bizarre words and phrases of the Latin document (e.g. *volunt mori famus*, close to the Romanian phrasing *vor muri de foame*, that is, 'will die of hunger'), one may notice the repetition of the title *iudex* by which the plaintiffs designate the various administrators of the estate, those above their rank, as opposed to themselves, designated by *quenesii* (knezes, derived from the Slavonic *кѣнази*) (for the document, see Lukinich 1941, p. 287-288, no. 255). Compared to this late 14th century use of the word *iudex* with the meaning of 'superior', it seems to me particularly interesting that *giudeci* in the rhotic psalters has the same Latin etymon. In case of a distant Latin source for the rhotic psalters, a hypothesis that I am not yet ready to dismiss, the absence of the Slavonic counterpart could explain the use of the Romanian term of a Latin origin. In case of a Slavonic source, the explanation is somewhat convoluted. The decline of the knezial status in the social hierarchy of the kingdom of Hungary could have triggered a depreciation of the word's meaning. Nevertheless, this would mean that the same rule would apply to the Slavonic *кѣнази* that the translator read in a Slavonic source. Whatever the answer may be, it is worth noting that both explanations are possible only in a geographical area located within the kingdom of Hungary, such as Banat, Hunedoara county, or in their vicinity (the area where the rhotic psalters' prototype is located according to currently accepted research).

CPG: According to Sachelarie, Stoicescu (1988, p. 108-110, s.v. Dan Amedeo Lăzărescu, Nicolae Stoicescu; p. 257-258, s.v. Valeriu Șotropa, Dan Amedeo Lăzărescu), *knez* and *judec* were essentially the same institution under different names. *Knez*, derived from the Germanic *kuningaz*, represented the idea of leadership among the Slavs. D. Oniciu and I. Bogdan maintained that the institution of *knez*

was Romanian and represented a continuation of the Roman institution of *iudex*. *Knez* was a new term that came to replace the former term *judec*. While this term might have remained in the spoken language, the diplomatic sources of medieval Hungary from the 14th and 15th century exhibit almost exclusively the use of the Latinized terms *kenezius*, *keneziat* (with the variant *quenesius*) as moniker of the chieftains of Romanian communities living on the royal castle domains or on lay or ecclesiastic landed properties.

The Romanian term *judec* was not recorded in the Latin charters. It is assumed that the *knez* was initially an elective function that gradually came to be held for the lifetime of the bearer and in the end became hereditary. In the 14th and 15th century the title was fully hereditary. The institution of *knez* is better made clear by the written sources at the time of its decline. Both in the Romanian principalities as well as in the kingdom of Hungary, *knez* underwent a sort of degradation in terms of social standing. In the principalities, the social elite was comprised of the boyar class and the meaning of the *knez* gradually came to be essentially that of a free person, losing the connotation of chieftaincy, while in Hungary, the fact that the knezes living on the ecclesiastical and lay landed properties were reduced to the role of intermediaries between the landowners or their officials and their own fellow villagers having some duties in regard to organization of labor, fiscal obligations and judging small offenses contributed perhaps to the degradation of the institution. On the marginal territories of the realm, in the areas of Banat and Hunedoara, where Romanian knezes and their villagers lived within the system of royal fortresses, the transfer of royal lands to the hands of private landowners was delayed until the late 14th and the first half of 15th centuries. The knezes of the royal fortresses turned their knezates (that is, the villages that they owned as knezes) into noble properties, thereby acquiring the status and rights of the "true nobility of the realm" (*veri nobiles regni*) (See Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu 2000).

In the letter addressed by the knezes living on the Remete domain to their landlady, the wife of Benedict Himfi, in the early 1370s, the term *iudex* referred to an official of the landowner in charge of administration of revenues on behalf of his lord. So far, to my knowledge, this letter was analyzed and commented upon only by M. Holban. Her approach unsurprisingly focused on the aspects of social history, discussing the peculiarities of language to some extent (Holban 1957); however a new linguistic approach of these peculiarities would be most welcome. The letter mentioned a certain *iudex* Nicholas, who was in a position of superiority to the knezes, even though he was a servant of the landowner. At the same time, one should also consider that there were various dignitaries bearing the titles of judges in the hierarchy of the realm of Hungary, ranging from the members of the royal council, such as the Palatine (who was *iudex Comanorum*) and Judge Royal (*iudex curie*), to the noble magistrates (*iudices nobilium*) serving in the judicial courts of the counties, and to the chiefs of cities (*iudex civitatis*). Thus, the idea of superiority of judges in positions of leadership could also have been sustained by the structure of offices in the 14th and 15th centuries. The preference given to the term *judec*, instead of the more straightforward *cnezi* may reveal important information for both history proper and the history of language.

◀ Fig. 26. John Viski's adaptation of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter, written in 1697 in Sântămărie Orlea, in Romanian with Latin script. Page 318 of the manuscript currently hosted by the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca section, Ms. Reformat 1502. Photo taken during the exhibition *Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities* (Alba Iulia, Museikon, 2018).

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